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ABSTRACT

The three studies reported in this document are part of an ongoing attempt to understand how the world of illiteracy and literacy programs appears to those who have either refused to attend or decided to drop out of adult basic education (ABE). Situational or institutional barriers account for some of this non-attendance; they do not, however, explain the third area of "dispositional barriers." It is this area of nonparticipation and attrition in ABE arising from an attitudinally based learner perspective, with which these studies are concerned. The first study examined sociological literature, using nine novels and a short story to establish theoretical constructs and to examine the consequences of resistance as applied to "second chance" ABE and literacy programs. Findings indicated that resistance to organized schooling takes place in a series of steps and stages of awareness; the issue is the schooling environment and the cultural, racial, class, and economic assumptions that resisters see there and continue to see in adult education. In Study Two, in-depth interviews conducted in Pittsburgh with approximately 25 nonparticipant subjects reveal that resisters might be categorized by their view of school and adult basic education as personal/emotive resisters, cultural/ideological resisters, and older resisters. The groups emerged with very different reasons for not attending ABE, but all were similar in that they shared ambivalent, traumatic, or hostile feelings about their earlier school experiences. Study Three examined two groups of ABE students from two Pittsburgh centers--those who stayed (n=20) and those who quit for reasons of "attitude" (n=17). Findings show that expectations of ABE of both groups--those who quit and persisters--had been shaped by earlier school memories and personal values and that the first 3 weeks are crucial if centers are to fulfill the needs of reluctant learners and retain them. Recommendations for the first 3 weeks are given along with suggestions for center counselors. (The interview schedule is appended to Study Two, and 46 data tables and resister/persister interview schedules are appended to Study Three. Contains 64 references.) (YLB)

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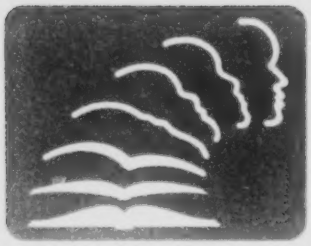

INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF ADULT LITERACY

UNDERSTANDING AND OVERCOMING RESISTANCE TO ADULT LITERACY EDUCATION

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UNDERSTANDING AND OVERCOMING RESISTANCE TO ADULT LITERACY EDUCATION

B. Allan Quigley

The Pennsylvania State University
College of Education
Monroeville Center for Continuing
& Graduate Education

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PREFACE

It would be difficult to find another area within adult education which engenders more public and political controversy or more academic debate than literacy education. Since adult illiteracy was first "officially discovered" through the 1870 governmental census and termed both "an immense evil" and "the peril of the Republic" by Commissioner of Education Edwin Leigh (Quigley, 1990), illiteracy has been discovered and rediscovered through time by policy-makers, educators and the public. With the first official literacy crusade in 1924 under Calvin Coolidge, there has been a constant expectation that, somehow, illiteracy in America would be eradicated or eliminated. History has seen repeated crusades, wars on illiteracy, efforts to stamp out illiteracy and searches for programmatic cures to the literacy disease. We have been engaged in continuous activities and continuous rhetoric over the blight, sin, debilitating problem, and shame of illiteracy, as it has been variously termed, for more than a century. In fact, the only evidence we have that the U.S. approached full literacy for adults was under the Puritans in the new colonies—and then strictly among the males of the new settlements (Stubblefield & Keene, 1989).

Hundreds of reasons have been given as to why adults are illiterate in this country, given that schools have been mandatory to the secondary level since the turn of the century and it has long been everyone's right, if not responsibility, to attain a basic education. Thousands of benefits have been ascribed for potential students through our various public literacy programs. Millions, possibly billions, of dollars have been invested in the pursuit of full literacy. Yet, after two recent decades of the most intensive literacy campaigning in history and the signing of the first National Literacy Act we have ever had at the legislative level, we still stand far from realizing the goal—possibly the unrealistic goal—of full literacy for the adults of this nation. Why?

The literature indicates that we have no lack of opinions by experts. Academics, politicians, the media, and interested parties from all walks of life can be found commenting on "the cause" of illiteracy—from our schools to parental influences, from illiterate adults themselves to injustices within democracy and the economic order. What is consistent, however, through our history and the literature is that the potential learner—around whom the discussion centers—is singularly absent from the discussion. Virtually all programs and research are about or for, but rarely in consultation with or by the potential consumer of our programs. It is apparent that if we as adult educators are to reach and involve more of the 30 to 60 million "illiterate," "functionally illiterate," "undereducated" adults, we will need to begin to see the world more clearly from their perspective.

These three studies are part of an ongoing attempt to understand how the world of illiteracy and literacy programs appears to those who have either refused to attend or decided to drop out of adult basic education (ABE). Many adults who would like to attend programs cannot due to situational barriers (e.g., lack of child care, lack of transportation, learning disabilities) or institutional barriers (e.g., inconvenient scheduling, lack of access) (Cross, 1981). These two barriers do not, however, account for the third area of "dispositional barriers" (Cross, 1981), or what is here referred to as learner perceptions. Despite more than a century of programming and concern, nonparticipant views of what might be more acceptable or more relevant are still greatly underresearched. It is this area of nonparticipation and attrition arising from an attitudinally based learner perspective with which the following studies are concerned.

Study One is a brief summary of a longer (dissertation) study which examined sociological literature for a clearer understanding of resistance to education and resistance theory. It utilized literary fiction—novels and short stories—as a data base to establish a number of theoretical constructs and to examine the consequences of resistance as applied to our "second chance" adult basic education and literacy programs. It was found, for instance, that resistance to organized schooling takes place in a series of steps and stages of awareness. Objective knowledge and the value of education is never disputed by these resisters. The issue is the schooling environment and the cultural, racial, class, and economic assumptions that resisters see there—and continue to see in adult education.

In Study Two, in-depth interviews conducted in Pittsburgh with nonparticipant subjects revealed that resisters in this study might be categorized by their view of school and adult basic education as: personal/emotive resisters, cultural/ideological resisters, and older resisters. Each group emerged with very different reasons for choosing not to attend ABE, but all were similar in that they shared ambivalence, traumatic, or hostile feelings about their earlier school experiences. The second chance offered by educators was often perceived as a "second trap."

Study Three examines two groups of ABE students from two Pittsburgh centers—those who stayed and those who quit for reasons of "attitude." The reluctant learners who quit and the persisters who stayed revealed that their expectations of ABE had been shaped by earlier school memories and personal values. Again, neither knowledge nor the quest for an education was a problem. Subjects were highly motivated with high levels of self-expectancy going in. Despite the reluctant learners early commitment to education, something about the ABE programs was either very disappointing or unacceptable to the learners who dropped out. The study revealed that the first three weeks are crucial if centers are to fulfill the needs of reluctant learners and retain them. Recommendations for the first three weeks are given along with suggestions for center counselors or persons of first contact at programs.

Further research is needed to determine if alternate methods as described here, or better methods not thought of here, will prove effective for recruitment and retention. No enterprise succeeds without knowing whom it is trying to serve and whether it is accomplishing its goal. These studies clearly indicate that resistance and reluctance do not arise from either the learners' inability or their lack of interest. Education is an absolute good—a dream of self-betterment and success for even the most recalcitrant subject studied. What is being offered is not always appropriate or acceptable; this may have more to do with the learner's past history than the mechanics of delivery systems. How we reach and involve those who very much want to have an education is a question which needs to be investigated more carefully from sociological as well as psychological points of view. This set of studies attempts to bring us nearer to such an understanding.

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1992

STUDY NUMBER ONE
ANALYZING RESISTANCE TO LITERACY EDUCATION: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In one of the few studies on adult illiteracy that has been based in the adult's community rather than in an adult basic education (ABE) classroom, Fingeret (1983) concluded, "If we do not learn to work with them, many illiterate adults will continue to refuse to work with us" (p. 144). With estimated totals ranging anywhere from 17 million to as high as 60 million functionally illiterate adults in the USA (Harmon, 1987), with a participation rate of less than 10% in ABE courses (Hunter & Harmon, 1979), and with a legacy of failed literacy crusades and campaigns reaching back to the 18th century (Dauksza-Cook, 1977; Graff, 1979; Kozol, 1985; Verner, 1973), surely the three most pressing challenges for adult literacy and basic education researchers and practitioners today are nonparticipation, learning to work with nonparticipants, and translating that learning into action.

Although the ABE literature is voluminous, there is remarkably little on the critical question of why so few adults participate in ABE programs. The literature of the 1950s and 1960s indicated "no clear perception of the kinds of educational programs required nor of the form of education which is acceptable to the disadvantaged adult" (Niemi & Anderson, 1970, p.41). In a more recent review, Fingeret (1984) distinguished four categories in the ABE literature: (a) descriptive studies of students and programs, (b) informal accounts of teaching and program development experiences, (c) how-to-manuals and guides, and (d) "by far the smallest category," theoretical and philosophical articles on underlying assumptions in adult basic and literacy education (pp. 3-6). The first three categories basically concern themselves with in-class persisters and, on occasion, with dropouts. The smaller theoretical/philosophical category helps to raise important questions (e.g., Eberle & Robinson, 1980; O'Brien, 1979), and Fingeret (1983, 1984) has made a major contribution to this category with the addition of the concept of "deficit perspective." The central questions however, remain on nonparticipation.

As was once said, "No one knows for sure who discovered water, but it probably wasn't a fish." By swimming in the unsteady waters of ABE, we have excelled at survival, but how can we see ourselves from a more critically constructive perspective? What should our basis for change or alternative models be? How will we know if changes made are appropriate? Despite Fingeret's four categories of "answers," we

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Complete dissertation study available (see *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 4B-2514A).

still have to find the appropriate questions to address the most central issues for our field.

A possible fifth category in the literature, which Fingeret (1984) mentions but does not expand, gives a strong critical perspective. It advocates a direction which would seek to dismantle traditional ABE programs. This movement, comprised mainly of community development educators in Britain (e.g., Keddie, 1980; Thompson, 1980), believes that ABE is a tool for social control. This group's position is that radical socioeconomic, systematic restructuring is needed rather than naive ABE liberalism. As they explain: "By subscribing to the collective delusion of short-sighted optimism, [literacy programs] leave unquestioned the deep-rooted political and economic structures which make their aims impossible to achieve" (Thompson, 1980, p. 96). Thus, the first group calls for internal change arising from within the field. Theirs is an individualistic, psychologically based, humanistic call for change in ABE. The second group of critics effectively condemns ABE and calls for macrolevel change on a sociological, sociopolitical basis. Although the call for nondeficit perspective from group one in the research literature promises internal improvements and although group two vastly scales down what traditional ABE can reasonably be expected to achieve, neither group has yet gone far enough to deal directly with the issue of nonparticipation or how to work with nonparticipants to derive alternatives. In both cases, we are left asking how to address the nonparticipation issue.

TOWARDS A THEORY OF RESISTANCE TO LITERACY

In this study, a more direct avenue to nonparticipants was sought to find an articulate voice that would begin the learning process. The avenue was found in the most vocal of nonparticipants—resisters to schooling. Their views were found to be consistent with an ideology and a theory of resistance which has been researched in the United States by Giroux (1983a, 1983b) and in France by Bourdieu and Passeron (e.g., 1977).

In fact, the starting point for this research was more than 15 years ago in my first ABE classroom when I stood helplessly and watched two young Indian women drop out. It was obvious that my ABE class as offered was entirely unacceptable to them, even though it was acceptable to those who remained. What would have been better? Years later, after experimenting with numerous variations on the ABE program as a practitioner, administrator, and policymaker, it was still obvious that even "innovative ABE" was fundamentally wrong for a large segment of the population. Untold numbers within the target group still refused to work with us despite our best and most sincere efforts.

Later, as a full-time doctoral student, I realized that I was searching for an answer within a program which was itself the very problem. A system which apparently elicits and provokes

nonparticipation was hardly the place to be seeking answers to nonparticipation. An "outside" viewpoint from those who had consciously and intentionally resisted—a fresh view from the unconverted—was needed. The answer lay with the two Indian students and thousands like them. This is but one piece of the broad nonparticipant puzzle.

METHODOLOGY AND DATA SOURCE

To gain a nonintrusive method of reliable, valid data to schooling, I approached the problem through a close analysis of resister figures in literary fiction. I then applied the findings to formal ABE. Using the criteria from McKenzie (1975, 1976) and from phenomenological methodology with textual analysis (Spiegelberg, 1960), I selected and analyzed nine American and Canadian modern novels and one short story. These included: The Adventure of Huckleberry Finn (Twain), "The Conversion of the Jews" (Roth), Studs Lonigan (Farrell), The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz (Richler), Grain (Stead), Who Has Seen the Wind (Mitchell), In Search of April Raintree (Culleton), Halfbreed (Campbell), The Catcher In The Rye (Salinger), and Too Far to Walk (Hersey). Each contains a young adult who was a resister to formal public, parochial, college, or university schooling. In each, the resister either immediately or gradually rejects what is being offered and promised through schooling. I examined three basic questions: (a) How did the protagonists' resistance take place, (b) why did they resist, and (c) what did resistance mean to the 10 protagonists? The question then became what ABE could learn from these resisters and their experiences at a theoretical level?

FINDINGS

Focusing first on how the protagonists resisted, I found that resistance was more visible and overt in some cases than in others. This suggests a "range of resistance." At one end of the range are Ozzie Freedman, Duddy Kravitz, and Cheryl Raintree, all of whom either finished or will finish school. The next group, Maria and Studs Lonigan, did not want to quit. The third group, John Fist and Holden Caulfield, wanted to quit. The fourth group, Gander Crane, the Young Ben, and Huck Finn, desperately wanted to quit or escape. Interestingly, the protagonists whose resistance was the least visible were also the most determined to quit. They [Huck Finn and the Young Ben] chose to bide their time in school until they could escape. The ones creating the most "noise" in the system (Ozzie Freedman and Duddy Kravitz) either suffered through to graduation or indicated they would stay in school. However, in these latter cases, the protagonists had changed the nature of the schooling structure by their acts of resistance. Ozzie forced the entire parochial school to

agree that alternative "truths" were possible; Duddy harassed a teacher who was an anti-Semite to the point of quitting in disgrace.

Resistance took place in a consistent pattern of "behavior of resistance" steps and stages of awareness. (See Figure 1.1.) Each resister wavered between the first three steps—observing, comparing, challenging—which lead to an irrevocable break with school. A euphoric step of control and self-determination followed; in some cases, reconciliation and empathy were the end point of resistance. The six steps were a process of "consciousness raising": each resister moved from a stage of awareness that a certain freedom or liberty (Stanage, 1986) was missing, to a stage where the liberty being sought had been obtained. Adding reconciliation to the stages developed by Stanage (1986), the complete process ended for some in reconciliation, but in every case it ended with the liberty each desperately wanted.

Why the resister chose to resist revealed two important findings. First, the protagonists never resisted learning or objective knowledge. They were highly capable learners, and, in fact, chose to become masters of self-directed learning. What they did resist with absolute conviction were the values they saw underlying the entire schooling enterprise. In every case, the cultural, moral, and emotional incompatibility of the schooling ethos—the implicit and explicit values—were first observed, then compared with alternatives, challenged, broken away from, and left behind with conviction. The issue was always schooling and all that it symbolized. As Studs Lonigan put it, "School was a jail house that might just as well had barred windows" (Farrell, 1935, p. 2).

The second major finding was that while resisters were saying "No" to one value system, they were simultaneously determined to enter or stay within a values system which they saw as having much greater integrity and purpose for their lives. They resisted one way of life while deciding to embrace another. Thus, the decision to say "No" was also a decision to say "Yes" to an alternative lifestyle. For the schooling resisters in the sample, resistance meant a visible or invisible struggle to be free within a certain values system, culture, moral set, or emotional environment not found in schooling. Their decision was based on a growing awareness that a certain freedom or liberty was being denied through schooling and the dominant culture. They chose to resist schooling while embracing an alternative values system, and they did so "no matter what the risks" (Camus, 1956, p. 14). As Giroux (1983) has stated, "Schooling resistance has little to do with deviance and learned helplessness, but a great deal to do with moral and political indignation" (p. 289).

IMPLICATIONS FOR ABE

What can ABE learn from schooling resisters? First, the notion that nonparticipants are basically not "the same" as participants has already received some attention (e.g., Fitzgerald, 1984; Hunter &

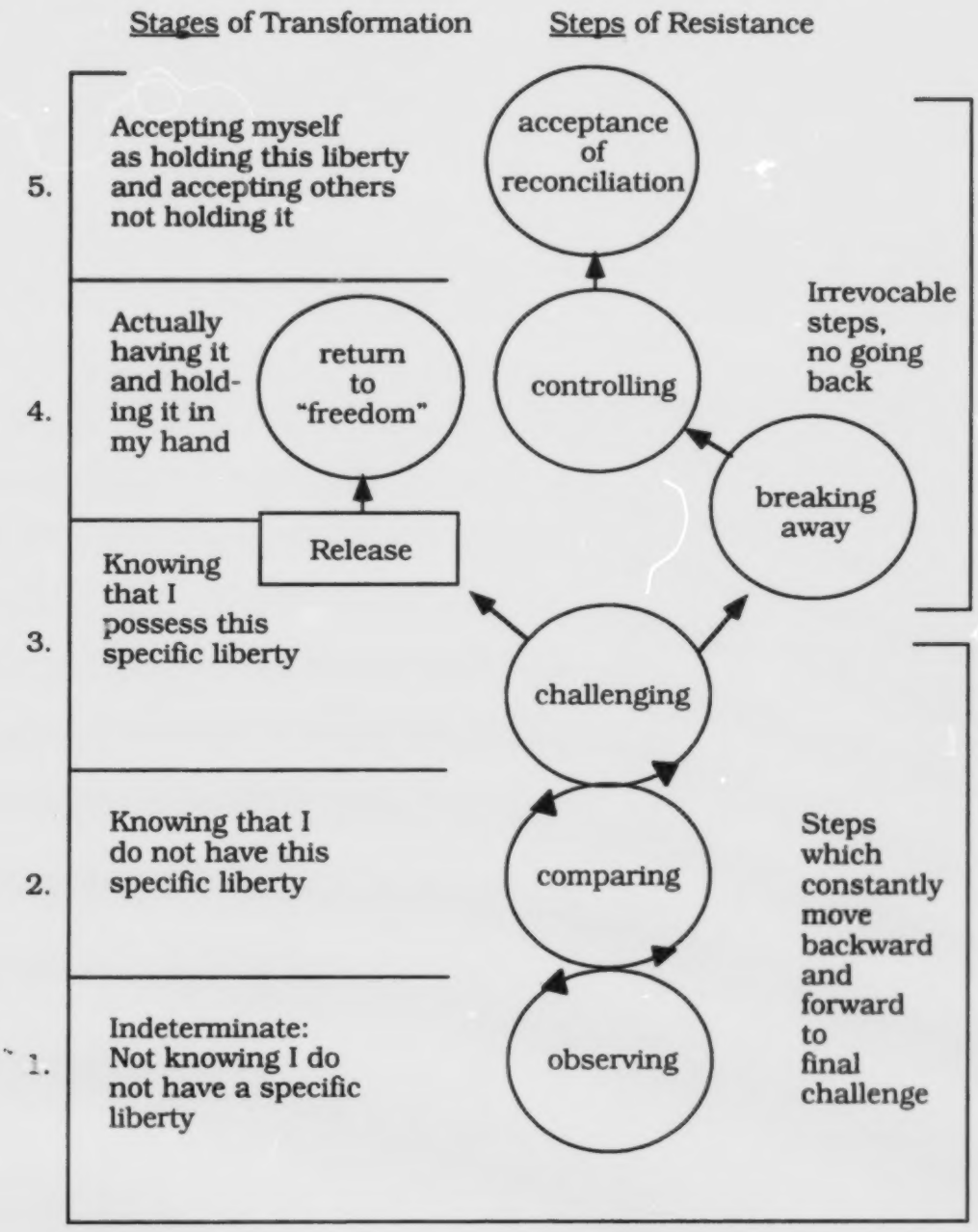

Figure 1.1

Schemata of Stages and Steps in the Resistance Process

Harmon, 1975; Niemi & Anderson, 1970). This study suggests that it certainly cannot be assumed that nonparticipants are basically "the same" as the less than 10% who attend formal ABE. Consequently, programs acceptable to participants will not be acceptable to all nonparticipants. For resisters, schooling was wrong, and it is clear that a system based on schooling principles cannot now be considered "right" by resisters.

Secondly, since resisters were rejecting the values of the dominant culture, learner-grounded values, ethics, cultural systems, and emotional supports are required as part of a "learner-grounded system" of basic education. Math, reading, science, and history were not the issue with this sample. The normative values and assumptions underlying schooling were. Consequently, learner-grounded programs should be designed by and with resisters. Where possible, peers and the father-figure (which played a significant role) should be involved.

Since the traditional schooling process was the source of the resister's problem, mandatory ABE will typically be rejected by resisters. The maxim that adult learners vote with their feet has never been truer than with resisters. In addition to recommending against mandatory ABE for resisters, the criteria for successful learner-grounded basic education should include continuous learner feedback. Program attrition rates should also be an essential aspect of any summative or formative evaluation if a learner-grounded basic education system is to evolve.

Finally, ABE decision-makers, practitioners, and researchers must be seen as pivotal if program sponsors are to receive a balanced picture of undereducated adults. The field itself is the only reliable source for changing public opinion over time. More than altering individual deficit perspectives within ABE or abandoning ABE for socioeconomic changes, the ABE profession needs to gradually but determinedly shape sponsors' and the public's opinion of resisters who engage in learner-grounded basic education. If sponsors and the public were made aware of the strength, ability, and conviction of resisters as seen in this study, the image of "helpless victims" or "unmotivated nonparticipants" could be changed through time. Resisters as seen in this study were never helpless and were never victims. They were courageous, self-confident adults who were determined to follow a lifestyle which they saw as having greater integrity and value than that being offered. To paint such adults with the same stereotypical brush used for participants is both an insult and an injury—an insult to those adults who have exhibited the self-confidence we so often say ABE students need to acquire, and a self-inflicted injury to a profession dedicated to working with adults.

Fingeret has noted that we must learn to work with those who have refused to work with us. The first step, as suggested by this study, is to acknowledge that a voice of resistance does exist, that it is articulate and that it can guide our profession to develop new learner-grounded models for the future. It is proposed that nonparticipation can, in part, be understood on theoretical, ideological grounds. As such, resistance to schooling and to formal ABE can be a guide for

developing a learner-grounded alternative for those who thus far have "refused to work with us" (Fingeret, 1983, p. 144).

STUDY NUMBER TWO
REASONS FOR RESISTANCE, RECOMMENDATIONS FOR NEW DELIVERY MODELS, AND INSTRUCTIONAL STRATEGIES FOR THE FUTURE

Despite the best efforts of sponsors, policymakers, administrators and instructors alike, participation in adult basic education (ABE) programs has remained at less than 5% of the target group (NACAE, 1977) in America. Recently, public attention has been focused on ABE as government sponsored programs have come under attack in the widely circulated book, *Illiterate America*, by Jonothan Kozol (1985). David Harman in *Illiteracy: A National Dilemma* (1987) has also criticized traditional ABE—albeit in a more scholarly and dispassionate manner. The two popular works taken together have painted a very negative picture of ABE programs. Similarly, researchers such as Eberle and Robinson (1980), Fingeret (1983, 1984), Mezirow, Darkenwald and Knox (1975), O'Brien (1979), and Thompson (1980) have also voiced growing criticism of traditional ABE models. In all cases, the call is for new research and learner-based models to address the growing numbers of illiterate adults. As Fingeret (1984) has stated, "Researchers must continue to expand the types of research conducted" (p. 43) to reach more of the nonparticipant group in this country.

Given the major investment of public funds in ABE over the past three decades, the existing levels of program excellence and the numerous student success stories through the years, it is clear that our profession cannot stand idly by in the face of mounting criticism. Research conducted on nonparticipants directly is needed to gain greater insight into why so few of the target group attend traditional ABE programs. This study investigated the most "intransigent" of nonparticipants—resisters to ABE. It was hypothesized that those who have chosen not to attend, although eligible, could provide direct insight into why they have made that choice and what steps, if any, might be taken to involve them in academic learning.

RELATED RESEARCH AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As a former ABE teacher and administrator for more than 15 years, I realized the problems inherent in the traditional models, as are now being described by the critics. Returning to doctoral studies in 1984, I had an opportunity to review the literature on nonparticipation in ABE and make an addition to the research base. In 1987, my dissertation used fictional literature to examine the attitude and perceptions of adults who had deliberately quit school (Quigley, 1987). I then investigated why young adults had resisted schooling

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This study was supported with a 353 project grant from the Pennsylvania Department of Education.

and applied those perceptions to traditional ABE programs. I found that resisters did not resist learning or knowledge—they wanted to learn math, reading, social studies, and science. What they resisted and found unacceptable were the implicit and explicit values, the lifestyles, and the cultural norms pervasive in school. They saw an unacceptable process at work which was leading them away from their chosen culture and values. After comparing their own world to the one being promised and modeled in the schools, they said "no" to schooling and "yes" to their own values, culture, lifestyle, and ethics. They ultimately decided their own values had greater integrity and relevance to their lives. This may have meant choosing a life in the factory culture or in the ghetto, but it was a deliberate choice based on resistance to schooling and the values and culture schooling advocated.

These findings were analyzed in the theoretical framework of resistance theory from the new sociology of education, including researchers such as Giroux, Bourdieu, and Willis in the U.S., France, and the U.K., respectively. When the findings and framework were applied to ABE, it was clear that traditional ABE would be unacceptable to adult resisters. New, more relevant, more acceptable models of delivery and instruction were needed. If we are to arrive at models and instructional strategies which will involve more of the eligible nonparticipants, we must begin to base such models on what the nonparticipant resisters themselves see as being relevant and acceptable. As Fingeret (1983) put it, "If we do not learn to work with them, many illiterate adults will continue to refuse to work with us" (p. 144). The first study was largely theoretical and used literary fiction as a data base. What was then needed was more concrete data focusing on specific issues in current programs and specific proposals for change from resisting adults.

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

The goal of this research project was to conduct in-depth interviews with approximately 25 adults in the Pittsburgh area who refused to attend local ABE programs although they were otherwise eligible to participate and were aware that they were eligible. For the project, the operational definition of a *resisting adult* was, "one who is aware that a geographically, financially, and time convenient ABE program is available and accessible but who consciously refuses to attend." The objectives of the research were:

1. To determine through in-depth interviews why resisting adults are not attending existing local ABE programs. Specifically, how resisters perceive the existing programs and what particular aspects of these programs are: 1) irrelevant or, 2) unacceptable to them, based on a semistructured in-depth interview format. (See interview schedule Appendix.)

2. To investigate alternative delivery systems, instructional models, and program materials which may be perceived by resisters as more relevant and acceptable.

3. To investigate marketing strategies which would be more effective for recruiting nonparticipants.

4. Make recommendations to the Pennsylvania Department of Education on: 1) Factors which may be perceived as irrelevant or unacceptable; 2) Alternatives in delivery, instruction, and curricula which may be perceived as being more relevant and acceptable; 3) Alternative marketing strategies which may be perceived as being more effective.

5. Outcomes will be disseminated through Penn State's Institute for the Study of Adult Literacy, Pennsylvania Advance Resource Center, journals in the field, and presentations at professional conferences.

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

Low literacy skills and an anticipated wariness of unknown investigators on the part of the interview sample created practical problems which argued against the use of survey questionnaires, telephone interviews, or structured interviews with resisters. As Kozol (1985) explains, "Decades of well justified distrust have left poor men and women to regard the stranger with his questionnaire and clipboard as the agent of the system which appears infrequently and almost never for a purpose which does not portend substantial danger" (p. 38). In-depth interviews are recommended when the topic to be explored is "complex and emotionally loaded" (Sommer & Sommer, cited in Merriam and Simpson, 1984), as was the case here. Since this project was to be descriptive rather than to test hypotheses, a case study design was chosen. Case study allows for thorough investigation without assuming wide generalizability (Babbie, 1973; Isaac & Michael, 1979). This project as a pilot study provides information which may guide further research with ensured external validity.

Since "self-reports" based on interviews or surveys can lack validity and reliability if the design/instrument is flawed or if the interviewer is unskilled, care was taken to ensure both validity and reliability through the specific procedures, as follows:

1. Two professional black interviewers, one male and one female, were hired. Both were familiar with the subjects' culture, and were given specific training for the project.

2. A two-part, semistructured interview schedule was used: Part One to collect basic demographic data and put interviewees at ease; Part Two to conduct an open format interview based on consistent starting questions. Before arriving at a final draft (Appendix), this schedule was reviewed by four literacy experts, practitioners, and academics.

3. The design and interview schedule was reviewed with ABE students at Connelley Skill Learning Center in downtown Pittsburgh and pilot tested with two resisters prior to use. Content validity was again reviewed by the panel of four experts on the schedule, design, and procedures before proceeding.

4. Two general assembly meetings with the interviewers, the many participants at Connelley Skill Center and Bidwell Center in Pittsburgh, and me were held. Students were asked to identify resisters whom they knew. The resisters were contacted by the interviewers to arrange interviews, or resisters were called by the interviewers after being first contacted by their student friends.

5. In addition, one of the interviewers identified resisters in a housing project of south Pittsburgh. They were called by the interviewer directly.

6. Twenty interviews in the Pittsburgh area were conducted. (Human Subjects Protection was filed with Penn State.) The interviews were conducted with small tape recorders to ensure accuracy of data. The principal investigator verified data by follow-up calls to a sample of those interviewed. A $10 expense check was provided to each subject when the interview was completed.

7. Resulting data were coded, weighted, and categorized for Part Two. Data were examined by the principal investigator for consistent response patterns. These patterns were analyzed and cross referenced, first within, and then across each question category for consistent overarching themes. (See Data Analysis.)

8. Recommendations based on the outcomes were developed and a report forwarded to the Pennsylvania Department of Education.

PROFILE OF INTERVIEW SUBJECTS

A total of 20 subjects were interviewed: 8 males and 17 females ranging in age from 57 to 18 (mean = 34.35); with three more than 50 years, one in his 40s, ten in their 30s, five in their 20s, and one being 18 years of age. The group was predominantly black (18 black, 2 white). Eleven had lived in Pittsburgh their entire lives, the rest for no less than one-third of their lives. Thirteen were on public assistance or unemployed (as self-defined). The remaining seven were self-employed (2); part-time employed (1); working in the home (2); and two were employed full-time. Fourteen had children. Four were married, the rest were single (9); divorced (2); separated (1); living common law (2); and two were unknown status.

The total years in school ranged from 8 to 17 with an average of 10.72 years (mean = 10.72). Highest grade level achieved ranged from 7 to 11 (mean 10.05). They had been out of school (self-estimates) from 1 to 42 years (mean = 16.88). All had attended schools in Pittsburgh.

DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

The interviews were transcribed verbatim from tape cassettes. (When words were inaudible, the appropriate interviewer reviewed the tape with the typist and if still not clear, "inaudible" was entered into the transcript.)

The principal investigator assigned numbers commensurate with the interview schedule questions (Appendix). Since replies were interwoven in Part II (Experiences): "Why did you quit," "Did you like learning," "What specifically did you like least," "Was school relevant," and "Was there one part of school you considered unacceptable?" were grouped as a cluster under: "Why did you quit?" Similarly, "events leading to the decision to quit" and "the event(s) triggering the decision to quit," were treated as a cluster. Also, family/teacher/student attitudes to quitting and interviewee feelings to these attitudes were clustered. Patterns of response were reported from these clusters according to weighting.

Standard weighting from 1 to 3 was assigned to responses: "1" indicated passing reference; "2" indicated direct and substantive response by the interviewee; "3" indicated a substantive response and significant emotional interest/concern as expressed by the interviewee. Primarily 3s were quoted in the report to form an audit trail to support patterns and 2s were used when appropriate for the analysis. Total responses were recorded and significant patterns were traced through this numbering and weighting technique.

Quotes in the text are verbatim except where hesitations were concerned, in which case editorial words are inserted in square brackets for clarity. Punctuation was inserted where obviously needed.

In each section, a summary of findings is provided and a summary of the report is also provided at the beginning of the report.

FINDINGS

Past Experiences in School

The primary reasons these resisters quit school included: teachers, peers, and irrelevance of subject content and of school itself. Boredom and lack of challenge were named by two interviewees as well. In general, the subject content was not a problem; learning was considered "fun" in some cases. Difficulty was never singled out in the reasons for leaving. More than half stated they were above average or "A" students. Only when the subject content was seen as culturally biased or when black culture was being ignored was subject matter named.

All resisters felt "different" in school. Some felt victimized by peers, teachers, and school authority and they quit or "quit mentally" as resisters. Others, both male and female, said the choice was between being "square," a "loser," or being part of an alternate "bad crowd" group which cared about them. As seen in Resistance to ABE (Section III), two types of resisters emerged: personal resisters and cultural/ideological resisters.

•"Why did you quit?"

Teachers: Insensitive teachers were identified 11 times as a primary reason for quitting school. Typically, responses included dissatisfaction with the amount of time and interest spent with them constituting "personal resistance."

Desiree: They didn't spend enough time with the people that needed it. The people that were easy, they picked up things easy, they spent more time with them it seemed because it wasn't, I don't know, it was like their star students and people like me that needed extra things they would just fluff over you, you know, so you just didn't care. If they didn't care, why should you?

Walter: The attitudes and the values were very shallow. They were very shallow, the attitudes and the values of the teachers were very shallow, as I said before. They only taught what they knew, they did not go beyond that. They did not try to actually reach out to the students, it was like rote learning. I only had a couple of teachers out of my elementary schooling and also even in my junior high school, there were only like a few teachers that actually extended themselves just a little bit further. Then that was really teaching.

A second manifestation of insensitivity for resisters was abuse of authority by teachers and perceived abuse of authority within the school, constituting "cultural/ideological resistance":

Interviewer: Tell me what you felt and thought about the teachers you had in school.

Charles: Some were ignorant.

Interviewer: Let's talk about that.

Charles: Well, some of them had this personal thing about the way they didn't like certain people, because you didn't bow down. There were some who were the teacher's pet. They did, like, they were told. I have never been taught like that. You know, I've always been a free thinker. It's how my mom raised me. Think for yourself because if somebody else is thinking for you, they're gonna lead you somewhere where you don't want to be and that is how society is right now today.

Kay: The school district forced me to change schools when my parents moved. Why did they do that? I hated the new school and quit after three months. Who gave them that authority to ruin my education?

Gayle: I don't know, I just didn't like them being able to tell me what to do. I just resisted all types of authority, I wanted to do what I wanted to do when I wanted to do it.

Yvonne: Well, see that was how I was back there when I was younger. It seemed everything somebody told me to do, I did the opposite. It was because, it seem like everybody was always trying to run my life. You know, do this, do this, do this. Nobody ever asked me, you know what did I want. You know, I may have wanted to stay in school. I might, I can't understand it, you know, explain it, you know. I was just, like, so confused. Everybody stayed in school and I always wanted to do opposite, the opposite of everything.

It should be noted that no resister could recall more than two teachers whom they held in great esteem and whom they spoke of affectionately. These few were teachers who took a particular interest in them. For one (Lyle): "She [this teacher] didn't want me to quit. She said, 'You're too intelligent to be so dumb.' She told me I wasn't supposed to quit school because I had too much intelligence just to walk away." For others (e.g., Anna), her math teacher and science teacher were excellent teachers, but as she said, "Those kind of teachers are hard to find."

A third area of insensitivity was the highly significant role that prejudice and racism played for four interviewees. This was a clear and adamant response especially for black interviewees.

Karen: At the time, [my school] was very prejudice. I had a teacher, Business English teacher, that was really giving me problems. He made a lack of confidence in myself. Just, just destroying me personally. He made me hate school and lashing out at him. I either had an option to either drop out or be kicked out. . .What made me drop out of school was the problems I was having with the one teacher. I had got, let him gotten me so angry with things he was saying to me that I wasn't, I wasn't important, I was just another black person and black people wouldn't go far and especially black women and I felt so much anger and hate for that man until I lashed out at him and I know now that I was wrong for letting him make me that angry, but it happened. I was young and couldn't control my temper and was mainly because of listening to him belittle me so much I lost my self confidence.

Donna: The teacher was, I didn't like the teacher. She talked down to black people. Especially if you didn't understand or you weren't at the level which she was. Teachers can turn you off. Teachers can turn you on or off.

Yvonne: [My school] was a very prejudiced school. I did not like the teachers.

Shirley: It wasn't the learning. It was fun. But there was a lot of racism in school.

Interviewer: What tended to set you off to fight?

Frederick: Too many people were talking about what a clown I am.

Interviewer: In school, what were the things about school that didn't meet the needs of the people there. In your case, what didn't school give you that you expected?

Charles: It didn't give me nothing about my culture. It didn't teach nothing about my ancestors. It taught me a good philosophy of another man's society. See? And I could never conceive that. How could I understand that? A white man was teaching me to

do this, do that, do this. But when I did what he did in this society, he incarcerates me. See, I'm wrong, but look how his society came out.

Peers: Influence of a small group was identified seven times as a primary reason for quitting. Typically, the peer group of friends was seen and understood as "different" from the mainstream. Theirs was the resistance crowd that saw the school and the mainstream kids as "sissies" or "square." The "wrong crowd" was clearly the "right crowd" at that time:

Desiree: I think I just made a couple of mistakes then. And then I think I just got a little hard-headed after I got in high school. As far as grade school, I don't think it was too much of a problem but when I got in high school, I figured it wasn't really no problem then I just ran into the wrong crowd then. . .marijuana, pop pills, whatever. . .I was a pill popper.

Walter: I didn't do too bad in school but it was mainly up to [grade] five. I mostly ran the classes in the school, whatever. I was so, what you would call "bad" that the teachers would ask me did I want learn or whatever, you know. And if I didn't feel like it, I would tell them "No, I didn't wanna do it." I mean to me that was more like being a macho man, being with the gang or whatever. And if I felt like that I didn't wanna do it, I wouldn't do it. If I applied myself to it, I could pass. But to me that was what you called "square." I felt that I had more important things. Gettin' smart with the teachers or whatever you know or playin' hookey. Like I said before, I regret now but I have had quite a few of my teachers tell me if I applied myself, you could go ahead and do it. Somebody would say somethin' then, you know, and "Look at that dummy" and or look at somethin' that would throw me off and I'd be angry and, you know, this is for chumps. But I have been told if I'd apply myself, I had the ability to continue. . .if you sat up there and tried to learn something, you'd be square. . .if you was a square, you wasn't in the clique.

Ollie: I was always fighting, drinking, and have fun with the wrong crowd.

Exclusion from any peer group—being left out—was a second theme in this category. In these cases, peers [and teachers] provided little or no support up to this point, and after this point, the subjects quit:

Shirley: I think I didn't like school because I couldn't dress as well as my friends and couldn't keep up financially with my peer group.

Frederick: I stayed into a lot of fights that I didn't cause my own self, they blamed me.

Interviewer: How about the ones that you were friends with. . .did they come and encourage you to return?

Frederick: Naw, they didn't. I forgot. I had no friends at that time.

Interviewer: Do you think somebody should have been concerned?

Frederick: Yes, I do.

Timothy: I just didn't get along. . .I always stayed in trouble. Most of the time I was fighting.

Walter: I didn't like school. I knew too much from the streets, you know. It was mainly real, like, it was mainly like one of the movie things you know. This gang on this corner, this gang on that corner, come and go as you please. And this is my turf and this is your turf and, like. I say I regret that now I really do. Because to me, the biggest thing in my life, if I had a choice, would be to learn to read good. It hurts a lot you know, when you have a child come up to you and ask, "Daddy, what's this?" "Go ask your mother, I don't, I don't got time now." You could of learned to do this a long time ago. There's been a lot of times me and my wife have been together and she says "what does that say, I don't have my glasses?" Then I have to look at her and say, "you know I can't read."

Challenge: Boredom in classes was a consistent theme. The subjects, teachers, and environment were not challenging and often seemed repetitive:

Yvonne: It seems once I got past a certain grade in high school, like the seventh grade, I felt once I got into eighth and ninth, they was just repeating over the year before and adding a little bit more to it and, you know, I felt I had better things to do with my time than sit in class and learn something I already learned.

Shirley: I was bored. I didn't like school.

Interviewer: You like to be challenged?

Shirley: Yeah. Definitely.

The Decision to Quit

Trigger Events:

•"What lead up to and triggered your decision to quit?"

Accumulated late arrivals, absences and increasing suspensions, or being informed that grades would have to be repeated typically triggered the decision to quit. This was exacerbated by pregnancies for four of the subjects. It was typically the rules that triggered leaving. In all cases, these were recalled as unjust, inflexible decisions, and the final evidence that they didn't want school anymore than school wanted them. Their memories of the final leaving point were invariably angry recollections against school.

Lyle: I felt that I was [getting] too old and then the school was asking me, "Well, what are you going to do because when you're 21, if you mess up at all, we'll kick you out."

Yvonne: My daughter was already born. The reason I didn't return back to school, I went a little while, then I stopped. Well, then in April, my counselor called me and he told me I would have to repeat the eleventh grade and I told him I didn't want to repeat it over again. He told me I could repeat the eleventh grade and double up my classes and I would graduate and I just said, "Forget it."

The Day I Quit:

•"How did you feel the day you quit?"

Relief, fear, and in most cases, sadness was experienced the day these resisters ultimately quit school. The females were more articulate than the males on this. Despite pent-up anger, resisters did not feel pleased. They wish it had turned out otherwise.

Interviewer: How did you feel the day you actually walked out?

Frederick: I felt real bad.

Ollie: I felt badly.

Charles: I was depressed.

Anna: I felt relieved on one side, petrified on the other.

Kay: Afraid, but relieved.

Melanee: Sad and afraid.

Reaction of Others:

•"What was the attitude of your friends/family/teachers/fellow students to your quitting? What was your feeling toward these attitudes?"

Friends and fellow students were generally indifferent to their quitting. In only two cases did a teacher indicate concern. In particular, the teachers' concern mattered little to the males because the teachers were part of the problem. On this question, the most significant figures were their mothers. When asked about attitudes, respondents felt they had let their mothers down and felt guilty as a result. In only one instance was there a father figure mentioned and he, too, was disappointed and angry. The decision to quit is ultimately a lonely one, irrespective of the influence of any close peer group.

Walter: Well, I imagine a couple of them [teachers] were quite happy. Cause I always kept somethin' goin'. I'm gonna show you how bad I was. I was so bad that when I come into a classroom, they ask me "Walter, are you gonna do any work today?" Ask around the classroom. I acted like I used to at the bowling alley you know, maybe I will, maybe I won't. Then I'd go to the back of the room and sit there until I got bored and then I'd cause some commotion in the classroom you know, then somebody put me out of the classroom. I wandered the hallways. Then I'd leave the classroom or go the alleyway round back there and drink some wine with the rest of the fellows. I did just what I felt like doin' because you know, they, [teachers] felt like, "OK, we don't need this hassle." Let him go on and do what he wants to do and in a little while, we can put him on out of here. That's mainly what my story was you know. I don't need this education. . .

Karen: My mother was very upset with me. She told me that I owed her that much and that's all she asked from me was to graduate from school. She would try to find another school for me to go into. My father, he was well, I don't think I should say what he said because he was very angry.

Interviewer: Say what he said.

Karen: He said, "God dammit girl, what's wrong with you?" You know, he didn't have an education and education meant so much and he really cussed me out, you know, and he told me maybe you let

that man [the teacher who belittled her] tell you you was stupid and you lettin' that belief influence you too much, and you believe in him too much instead of in yourself. "You're not stupid, do what you're supposed to do. We'll find another way."

Shirley: My mother was kind of upset. She wanted me to finish.

Lyle: It was hard because my mother was the only person in the family it hurt. She was the only one in the family that graduated and she always wanted me to graduated and it was a real disappointment as far as I was concerned. You know, now graduating for her, that was all she really wanted me to do. That was all she ever asked me to do and I felt that I let her down in a very big way...The friends in the neighborhood, people, school, it really didn't matter, if I did or not.

Learning Since Quitting School:

•"Have you stopped learning or continued learning since you quit?" "How?"

While most of the interviewees had since taken various jobs, started businesses, entered and succeeded in part-time training, ran households, and raised children, only the over-50 year olds saw this school experience as valuable and continued learning. "Learning" was interpreted as "academic learning" for the younger ones. Most felt they had not become self-taught in any substantive academic way, but some were proud of the fact that they used libraries, followed the news, and used reference books. Also, some were proud of having "learned about life" and survival, and felt this was of much greater value than the academic schooling they left. All, however, saw value in learning more, such as reading or math.

There was a mixed reaction to self-education as adults but academic "school" and "life" were clearly compartmentalized. All wanted life-relevant learning including reading. None wanted "schooling":

Interviewer: Did you feel like you were still learning even when you weren't in school?

Melanee: (Over 50 years old) Always. Always.

Interviewer: How do you think you learned outside of school?

Melanee: Listening and by doing a lot of things.

Interviewer: Experimenting maybe?

Melanee: Trial and error: I love to cook. Even my mother, she could cook a lot of Jewish foods. Because you know, and I said Lord if I ever get grown, Kosher would never come in my house. Because it would work you to death. But I'd see something in school, I liked it and I read it, and I'd get the recipes. My mother, of course, turned the kitchen over to me when I was about 11 years old

Interviewer: So you started at an early age.

Anna: There was just two of us. And I would do the shoppin', she would go with me most of the time, but she let me do the shoppin'. Plan the menu. Now that I look back, I think I was a little bit too young, you know.

•Since you have been out of school, do you feel you still learn things?

Joanne: (Typical of under 50) Oh, yes.

Interviewer: What kinds of things did you continue to learn?

Joanne: Well, the kinds of things that I continued to learn is, is about the social structure. Basically, what I continue to learn is some of the developmental processes of learning which is the beginning of learning, how do you learn so, therefore, I learned from practicality. I learned from life experiences and so that the type of things that I learned is just pertaining to the structure. Pertaining to, for instance, history. OK, I really did not learn history in school because I was not interested. I was not inspired but then after I got out of school, I learned about history through geography, through the news, through the way that society has been forming or maybe degenerating. I have learned about math. I've learned about math and it's importance to my learning, but then yet I have not overcome the obstacles to grasping the essence of math because that was one of my developmental problems when I was in school. But I realize the importance of math, I just don't know to overcome the obstacles and to bring it into my mind. And so, therefore, I learned pretty much like the structure of things, you know communication, the importance of communication.

Anna: I, I think I learned more in these 15 years than I learned when I was in school. I'm talking about life experience. I learned

about Anna. I learned what she's about, what she wants, what's important to her. Just what life is like and what you need to succeed and to be happy.

Interviewer: You have a driver's license?

Walter: No, I don't, but I can drive, but I never. . .that's another thing, I never applied for them because of my reading. But I know all the signs and stuff you know. I been in so many stolen cars you know. It's like, I have street wise. People out on the street call that being of worth. I have that but I can tell you what the signs mean and you know, stop, go, crossing. I can tell you all that stuff, but if I had to have a reading test, I'd flunk it. If you just ask me the signs though, I can tell you what they mean. One way, don't cross here, you know, but to have a straight out reading test, I'd flunk it. Like I said to you, before I die, I'd love to learn how to read.

It should be noted that in the cases of the older interviewees, two females ages 52 and 54, and one male, age 57, the value of getting a job and earning a wage was the most important motivation for the male while pregnancy was the issue for the females. The females both saw racism in the school but the male saw school as totally irrelevant. In general, the necessities of supporting families took precedence.

Raymond: I left school to join the military service. I saw no future at all by staying in school. All of my friends were joining the service as soon as they became of age. I saw money as a cure-all for *all* of my problems. Every argument was related to money or the lack of it.

RESISTANCE TO ADULT BASIC EDUCATION

All who were interviewed were aware of Connelley (or Bidwell Training Center). Both were established centers for ABE and offer skill training in Pittsburgh. Many had vague or inaccurate information. There were three resistance reactions: 1) personal, 2) cultural, 3) age based. All felt ABE was irrelevant for them.

In general, no one was critical of either center *per se* and had mainly heard positive reports on them. While the resisters had expressed a need for relevant academic learning, such as reading or math, and had no complaints about the centers, the furthest they would go towards personally committing themselves to go was, they "should." As expressed by one (Shirley), academic education is a "necessary evil." The decision to attend was, ultimately, unacceptable. As seen in the value of education (below), <u>educational</u> knowledge was conceptually something required for social and economic success, but

schooling, as they had known it, was not what they were prepared to commit to. They took pride in their ability to survive and succeed through personal, informal learning. Most said they had been successful in getting above average grades in school when they had applied themselves, but the thought of having to go back to school, including Connelley/Bidwell, was asking too much. They reacted on an individual level and expressed an emotional, personal response not to attend. Schooling was not the answer for them and still is not for reasons, primarily, of deep disenchantment and resentment over past schooling experiences.

On the comparison between school and ABE, those who resisted for personal reasons generally assumed ABE should be more adult oriented. Those who resisted for cultural and ideological reasons felt strongly that ABE was basically school. The older group did not see themselves fitting into school.

Interviewer: What do you see as the value of Connelley or similar ABE programs?

Walter: I see a lot of them. I see a lot of them because I've seen some older people get that little piece of sheepskin and they found, they found out that they could do what they didn't know they could do. And this is nice, this is nice to see people like that you know and I imagined that I could tell for sure if I had that little piece of sheepskin, you know, I'd feel that I accomplished something. And if you apply yourself at Connelley, they, you know, they go with you. But like they tell you though, it's up to you, too. And I've seen, I've seen quite a few older graduates. So, I figure Connelley's got a lot to offer. But you know, you got to go, meet them halfway. But if you do, they, they give you the opportunity.

Interviewer: What do you see as of value of Connelley's program? Do you see anything of value in going there?

Frederick: Yeah, I think it'd help me out a whole lot.

Interviewer: How do you think it would help you a whole lot?

Frederick: Maybe it might give me some perspective of what I want in life. You know, job-wise.

Interviewer: Help you with a job?

Frederick: Yeah.

THREE TYPES OF RESISTERS

Group 1: Personal/Emotive Resisters

Group I males and females felt personally injured by the teachers and peers of early schooling. They were not angry at the school system but were angry and resentful, toward certain individuals. The notion of ABE triggered painful, personal memories.

Karen: You don't have the "goofing off" that you had in high school. Most of the people, grown people who decide to back to school, really want an education. They're not there because someone is forcing them to have an education. So once you decide you really want an education, you gonna do everything you have to do to learn in order to get that trade or somethin' you'll need later on in life.

Interviewer: What are some of the good things that you heard about Connelley, or you feel about Connelley yourself personally?

Karen: I feel that Connelley is very important to the community, to the black community, because it's one of the places where the government will still pay for an education in some cases. Now some of the programs at Connelley, you do have to pay for or take out a state loan or grant. But there's some skill courses the government will still pay for you to have an education.

Anna: Well now there's a respect for one thing. There's not that authoritarian attitude, you know, it's like a one-on-one equal type thing, so it's a lot better. People are more willing to help you instead of looking at you as far as a disciplinarian type thing.

Group 2: Cultural/Ideological Resisters

Group II males and females resisted for reasons of an ideological culture clash. Such ABE programs were "white man's" schools. They taught nothing of value on black culture or history and, more important, they assumed undereducated blacks would be best fit for the lowest jobs in society. Like school, ABE kept black people "in their place" in society. Opportunity through ABE was a myth according to Group II.

Desiree: OK, well I think they're just a little different, just a little, not that much. Because you're gonna have to do your homework and stuff in order to get grades and stuff, so there ain't that much difference. I figure it this way, if you want to learn or whatever, if you're gonna get your GED, you still have to just be like you're

going to the regular school. It's just a little different from that. You know they don't really push you but they figure that you want to learn you have to push yourself. With an adult they can't tell you when to come, or whatever but if you don't, if you don't complete that or whatever, then they can, I guess, just kick you out or whatever they figure you ain't interested, that's the way I see it.

Interviewer: What do you think about Connelley?

Charles: Well, I don't like being in a place that's like school.

Interviewer: What do you mean, "like school?"

Charles: I'm saying like, the education, the educational philosophy. It's like that, I don't like that. I like things when you take people as they are. Where they can express theirself openly. I mean, what they're thinkin' on their mind instead of havin' to watch their tongue or they're gonna disrespect this person or disrespect that person.

Interviewer: Do you think that Connelley has been helpful to the community, particularly the African-American community?

Charles: Uh, I really don't think so.

Interviewer: Why?

Charles: Well that school's based on grants. Don't they give grants, government-funded? Well that's the only reason that they have these things, they they're gonna make all black people mechanics, all black people body and fender men. I mean, but here's black people that should be in research, these people should be in the space program, electrical programs, they should be in NASA, but here they want all of us to be just fender and bodymen, tire changers, gas pumpers, cleanin' up this house, cleanin' up that house. It's garbage.

Raymond: I've known of Connelley all of my life and its always been a "white boys" trade school. They came and learned the trades—roofing, bricklaying, plumbing, steam fitting, carpentry, auto mechanics. They all got good jobs or opened their own businesses. Any others going to Connelley has a stigma attached to them.

Interviewer: What do you think about Connelley?

Joanne: I think the Connelley Skills Center is a center that attracts those people that have been denied or maybe left out of the system so to speak. For misfits.

Interviewer: Why do you say misfits? How do you define that, "for misfits?"

Joanne: OK, misfits are those who have not been able to fit in the, in the design realm of society.

Interviewer: Why do you think they didn't fit?

Joanne: Because, the system did not know how to envelope them within the society, within the scheme of things.

Interviewer: Whose fault do you think that was, the system or the people who didn't fit?

Joanne: I think that it was the system because it had to do with their planning stage, with their perception, OK with their perception in governing, so called governing the people, making up rules and laws, for the people. But then yet they were not able to see and to understand all of the different aspects of people and their needs and how people could help the system. The system did not really gear themselves to be able to, you know, to look at everybody, like you're on the same level or maybe on different levels of values and so it's not only the system's fault, but it's also the parents' fault because the parents let the system take control. So the parents left it all up to the system and they forgot their own responsibilities.

Group 3: Older Resisters

As discussed earlier (see pp. 28-30), the over 50-year old resisters were rather nostalgic about school and their earlier schooling days. They wished they had stayed in longer, believed it was vital for this generation, but could see little relevance for "school" (ABE or literacy) in their lives now. The one who gave adult education consideration (Raymond) said it would need to relate to the operation of his store today. In general, they saw such things as best suited for the younger generation. They were "too old to learn" and we just could not see the relevance of "school" regardless of what it may now be called. Anna is an example:

Anna: I'm never gonna go any place else or do anything else because I didn't make it, I didn't get that paper. I push my daughter and I push her. And my youngest son, he wouldn't go to school, he said he was goin' to the Navy and get it. He went and he's in there now. I try to push my oldest son too.

RESISTERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE VALUE OF EDUCATION

Without exception, questions on the resister's value of education were answered affirmatively as having great value on a conceptual plane. It was seen as having great social and economic value for their children among both male and female subjects, including those subjects who did not have children yet. On the abstract level, education was held in esteem for social and economic advancement for all resisters. They were proud of relatives who had succeeded in going to college. For themselves, education was different. It was now a more practical, quantitative commodity which could be had only at a terrible price of self-sacrifice—a "necessary evil." It lost its social value when applied to themselves. They saw education for themselves in the light of their earlier school experience and could only see it as a hard road which could well lead to a repeat of earlier school disappointment.

It should be noted that several of the female subjects could not go beyond the idea of returning to ABE because they had no child care and faced deep poverty. In these cases, education was attractive as a possible way to obtain work, or improved work, but the risk that school would fail them again, together with situational barriers, made the idea unrealistic. In addition, some saw racism against their children in school and acted against it. As for the older resisters, they simply saw education as too late for them now.

Thus, education in the abstract was seen as having great social/economic value for others and for their children. For themselves, education had failed. Also, for some, the possibilities of attending were remote without child care and financial help. The idea of education for themselves was not seen as socially valuable; it was viewed in economic and technical terms for work.

•Do you consider education important in general?

Frederick: Yes, it is. It's important for everybody.

Walter: Oh, yes. More definitely, for everybody.

Interviewer: Is it important for your children?

Walter: Yeah, oh, yes, I go for that, too. I mean that's what you need these days, what's comin' out now, computers. You need almost a diploma to dig a ditch now. You know, it's no more walking in and get a job in a ditch and measure this here and measure that. It doesn't work that way no more. You know, you have to sit down and understand what you're doin' now, you know. It's no more guessing. And that's where your reading comes in at, the education. And whoever says you don't need it, it's a lie. You take it from somebody who knows. This is livin' proof right, that's a lie. Somewhere down the road, you're gonna need that

education. And I remember one time when my daddy was livin', was comin' up to dig a ditch, he didn't need no paper to dig a ditch. You know, now they got everything on computers or file. If you want something on file, you gotta go and look and you got to read it you know. You just can't guess no more. It's as simple as that. And, like I said before, anybody tell you that, is a lie. That's my belief. Now, it took me a while to understand this, you know. This is what you need and this is how you get around in this world now. Just about everything you do is about reading. Numbers, figures, you know. I don't have to go to school today, I can get past. But, for my kids, it don't work that way. No.

Interviewer: Do you think that education is important for you?

Charles: Well, not so much for me, I'm set in my ways. And I don't think nobody can change me. I'm more concerned with my kids. I want them to be better than I am—was. I've managed this, you know. I've struggled a long time to take care of my children and I got two in college, and I got two in private school that I pay for, and I don't have an income. So I get my money the best way I can.

•Do you consider education important?

Shirley: Oh, very important. Oh, it's so important. Sometimes I wish I would have went right through, you know, went through high school, got my diploma instead of just waitin', you know, droppin' out. I got pregnant and all that. I wish I would've done it different. I would've done it a lot different.

Interviewer: What about your children?

Shirley: Oh, yes, I stress it constantly. You just have nothing without an education.

Interviewer: OK, do you think it's important for anything in particular to have an education?

Shirley: Just to build a life in general—period. To have a job, a decent job.

•Is education important?

Donna: Yes, it's important. I have two little ones, yeah, it's important. What kind of mother would I be if it wasn't important? I'm teachin' my kids now. You know, I've had them screened and my daughter, she's four. They tell she's ready for first grade with the things that she knows. But socially, she's not ready for even kindergarten yet. Uh, because she doesn't have that interaction with other children, they're with me all the time. You know, they're sayin' that's just as important as socialization, you know. She can spell, you know. She knows everything that they're supposed to need to know for kindergarten that's why they're tellin' me she can go in the first grade. But yes, education is real important. Did you hear about these billionaires, millionaires who can't even write and can't read. I'm like what the heck do they do? You know, we got people who can read and write and count this and they, you know, they just sweep somebody's floor.

•Is education important?

Rhonda: Yeah.

Interviewer: Why?

Rhonda: Because I have young children now that are comin' up and when I think, like, I know this one girl who is my niece's mother, who can't even read a newspaper, you know, and she's like 35. I'm like, "You can't even read a newspaper?" I think, girl, you might become a Mayra. I'll gladly help you. My boys, I set them down, I read them stories. I really like education, I mean learnin', you know, so this is what they need in their life.

Interviewer: All right, do you think education is important for your children?

Rhonda: Uh-huh.

Interviewer: Why is it important for your children?

Rhonda: 'Cause they need to know how to count their money, and read, you know. My son, I believe he's ready, he's gonna be real good with math. I had a lot of trouble for three years with my daughter, and he's really gone by himself a long way. I had him in basically an all white school and they, you know, the teachers

and everybody, it was a big classroom setting and everything. They took him out of there and put him in a black school with a smarter classroom and he's comin' along fine.

Interviewer: Do you feel the fact that he was in an all white environment was affecting his learning?

Rhonda: I feel that that school was kind of prejudiced towards my kids because they didn't have bright children up there. You know, in that area but, then, when I went up there, and talked to the teacher, I thought she was real prejudiced against my child.

•Is education important?

Anna Louise: Definitely, because without an education, there's nothing out there but K-Mart and I want a career. I don't want just a job, I want a career.

Interviewer: Is education important for your children?

Anna Louise: Definitely, financially, I can't do anything about that yet, but as far as emotionally, they're watching me and I, I help them with their work and I'm always expressing education is so important to do. You can do anything if you have the education. That's the key nowadays. You have to have the knowledge to go out there and because the competition is fierce.

Interviewer: Did your parents have an education?

Anna Louise: Not at all. They're basically blue collar workers, you know. Education wasn't even thought of as far as out of high school. There was no incentive. No importance put on it. I have younger cousins that are in college. Maybe they don't feel it's a need. They're happy with the people they are. Probably a lot of the women I know are afraid, don't have the confidence, you know. Everything that's involved with that. The same way that I felt, but I, I'm kind of thrown out there. I have to be pushed. You know, I have to be thrown out there to the lions and have the doors locked behind me before I do anything.

•Is education important to you?

Joanne: Yes, it is.

Interviewer: Why?

Joanne: Education is important because it helps to enhance or polish the mental level or my intelligence that I already naturally have. And it also helps me to get a better scope on what is happening in the world on all levels, historical, science, communication.

Interviewer: You don't have children now, but you may have children one day. Do you think, or let me phrase it this way, do you feel that education is important for children?

Joanne: Yes, I do.

Interviewer: And, why?

Joanne: Education is important to children whether it is just the parents' education. Pertaining to life, society, the sciences. Or whether it is an institute that is educating. It is important so that the child or children can help to develop their mind to the potential, that high level that it is supposed to be, and that helps to bring out the attributes of that person fully. As a human being on a much higher level.

•Is education important?

Gayle: Yes, definitely.

Interviewer: Why?

Gayle: Why, because now I realize that in order to make a decent living for myself and my kids, that I must have an education.

Interviewer: Do you think education is important for your children, too?

Gayle: Yes.

Interviewer: Why for your children?

Gayle: Because I don't like the idea of them to have to go through the changes that I have gone through.

•Karen, do you consider education important for yourself?

Karen: Yes, very important.

Interviewer: Why?

Karen: Without it, I can't do anything, I really can't. Right now I'm at a stand still. I have a medical background, but I can't use it, you know, I need to further myself in something else.

Interviewer: What about your children?

Karen: Definitely for my children.

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING ADULT BASIC AND LITERACY CLASSES

Subjects stressed small classrooms and sensitive, considerate, communicative teachers who had expertise but would respect learners as adults. Except for one (Walter), none had an adult education academic experience. Thus, they responded according to memories of excellent teachers and requested settings other than the worst they had experienced. They wanted what most adult learners want: ease of access, nearby programs, schedules which allowed them to work, and child care assistance. Several said Connelley and Bidwell needed an outreach program. They did not want to take loans although many needed some financial help. Many wanted ABE to lead to work and jobs.

They did differ from mainstream adults in the literature when asked about learner input. Many said learner input was important but were often surprised at the question. This possibility had never occurred to them. This was even more obvious with older subjects. All but one agreed in principle—some had ideas, but most could not go far in making concrete suggestions. The idea was too foreign without more time for reflection. The personal resisters (Group I) stressed sensitive teachers. The cultural/ideological resisters (Group II) stressed content relevant to minorities and unprejudiced teachers.

<u>For Group 1: Personal/Emotive Resisters</u>

•What type of instructors do you think should be in adult education programs that you would go to?

Gayle: Instructors that know what they're talkin' about, you know, know how to teach.

Interviewer: And how would you define knowing how to teach?

Gayle: Knowing what is necessary for you to understand the course that you are taking.

Interviewer: What type of setting?

Gayle: Casual, not really strict, letting adults be adults. Instead they're treated like children.

Rhonda: I'd like a nice area where it's not around a lot of people and stuff like that. And when you're thinkin' about goin' to school and you have children, you try to find out about if they have a day care there to help, you know, help you if you need a day care for your children. The instructors, I guess, friendly instructors. They should help you out when you need a question answered or somethin'. I think a smaller classroom setting instead of having like 30 to 35 people, adults sitting there looking like, "Oh, I don't want to go. There's too many people lookin' at me."

•What would you like it to be like? What kind of setup would you like?

Shirley: Well, not a real big campus or anything, cause I don't like too many people.

Interviewer: You like that personal attention?

Shirley: Yes. I mean, you can get in but you have to go through the channels to get to it.

Interviewer: By that time you get frustrated.

Shirley: Yeah, right. You may be afraid and cool it.

Interviewer: What about the instructor? What type of instructor do you think would be ideal?

Shirley: Down-to-earth, but strict about, you know, the teaching. But still can be human with people.

Interviewer: What type of learning materials would you like to use?

Shirley: Oh, all kinds. I love books anyway. Well, hands-on training, you know, that's what the computers are for. Typing. More hands-on. You know, training, I guess.

•What kind of instructor is best for individuals like yourself? What kind of teacher did you like best?

Walter: Well to me, I had a reading teacher that I liked. A literacy tutor.

Interviewer: What particular qualities did that person have?

Walter: He had, he would sit and run through the words with me. And he'd break them down and he'd show me how to break them down. And then he, he wouldn't like, he would take and go over a word maybe two or three times, you know, patience. And then like OK, then we come back the next day, we go back over the words. OK, then we'd move a little further. And in other words, I figure it was patience, you know. It wasn't a rush through thing. It was "OK, now do you understand what you're readin', Walter?" Or, "Do you understand this word? Take a good look at this word, put this word in your mind, and anything you remember about this word, it will help you identify it?" I remember doin' that. He didn't treat me like a child, didn't treat me like somebody that didn't have it all, he treated me like a human being, a grown man. But he understood my problem. And this is the way he dealt with me. So mainly, that's what I look for in the teaching, you know. Cause this was his ability to take time, it wasn't no rush thing or whatever.

Interviewer: It gave you some dignity.

Walter: Yeah, yes.

Interviewer: Dignity and respect.

Walter: Uh-huh. That's what I'm lookin' for, yeah.

Interviewer: What type of materials, you know, aids, do you think should be used in basic education programs? Computer you mentioned.

Walter: Yeah, well you can learn a lot from computers.

Interviewer: Anything else?

Walter: Yeah, probably chalkboards because it's big, you know, you can see and you can spell it out. If you don't understand it, spell it out on the board. Then a lot of times I found out that you understand it more if you can put it out in big letters or you know, stand back and look at it. So, I believe the chalkboard would be what you call it a necessary aide. And your teacher, you know. I mean like a student and teacher relationship. You know, you understand them and they understand you. And you know about them. Not, "She's slow" or "I don't understand you." It's OK if you don't understand. You're supposed to be

able to come to them and talk to them and express yourself without feeling guilty or dumb you know. That's the way I look at it.

Interviewer: Should this be a learning requirement?

Walter: Uh huh, I mean, if you don't understand something, they come and show it to you and then they back on away. Instead of asking you do you understand the thing I just showed you or do you have any more questions? You know, take time for both of you to understand each other. Just don't tell me this is so and so and then go. So I believe you have to treat it as communication.

•What kind of program would you attend if it was ever offered?

Yvonne: Well, I can really do anything, anywhere I go, it doesn't matter. I can feel comfortable wherever I go. I make myself comfortable. I can be in a group setting.

Interviewer: Would you go to Connelley?

Yvonne: No, it's too far to travel.

For Group 2: Cultural/Ideological Resisters

Donna: I'm interested in going to a school, but a school where you get down to business, you know what I mean? I'm not necessarily talking about being interested in going to college. OK? 'Cause you do have to take all that like social studies and history, you know. You know when I went to school, I did not learn about my history, about the history of my people. I don't care about that what I learned. The high school I went to didn't teach that at the time. You see what I'm saying, so things that I missed, when I went to school, I'm interested now. I would be interested in taking and I would definitely go to school if I could find a place to teach me black history. That has something to do with my life. Right, something that I'm interested in knowing, OK?

Interviewer: What kind of program setting would be best?

Donna: Definitely, definitely small classrooms. Because you're not so overwhelmed with all the people. For one thing you can get more time with the teacher, and another thing I think that they should do really is find out what people's problems are, you know, and group them and then work that way, because the

classes I had in school were at all different levels, you know what I mean? And if they would find out what your problem is and put all them people in a group and work like that I think it would be a lot easier. A lot less frustrating, you know, for people like me that have a hard time absorbing material.

Interviewer: What type of instructor would be best?

Donna: They would have to be open-minded people. People that aren't prejudice toward people's backgrounds or their education or their lifestyle. Things that happened to them in the past because a lot of people don't understand. Teachers have a certain lifestyle. They don't understand that other people have grown up differently. Like me, you know. Some of us are going to be with a bad crowd and everything. They don't understand that. We need somebody that's understanding. Has an open mind to it. They have to relate to other people's way of life.

For Group 3: Older Resisters

Older resisters, based on the small group in this sample, were probably the most "resistant" since they saw so little relevance in ABE or literacy for themselves. To the extent they would/might attend, immediate and direct relevance would need to be established first.

RESISTERS' VIEWS ON SELF-INPUT TO PROGRAMS

Many students had difficulty with this section and some were taken aback that students could have input. Most, but not all, said "Yes, they should have input" but had clearly never thought about it. This became more apparent with older subjects.

•Do you feel that learners, you students, should have some input in decisions about materials, kinds of instructors, and setting for adult education?

Anne Louise: I think it would make it a lot easier.

Interviewer: In what way?

Anne Louise: More comfortable. You would be much more at ease.

Gayle: I think input is very important in order to get along in the classroom and really understand what you're doing. Teachers need feedback from students or your class.

Interviewer: Do you feel learners should have input to class decisions about material?

Yvonne: I would leave it in the hands of the teacher.

Interviewer: What type of content would you think an educational program should have? What do you think that they should help you learn?

Frederick: What they should help me learn?

Interviewer: Yeah, what do you think an educational program should help you to learn? What should they expect you to learn?

Frederick: Um, let's see. I really don't know tell you the truth.

Interviewer: Do you think that students such as yourself should have some input into curriculum? Have something to say about or make some suggestions to the teacher?

Frederick: Some of them should.

Interviewer: What kind of suggestions?

Frederick: Um, let's see, uh, oh, let's see, I don't—I can't put my mind to it right now.

RESISTERS' VIEWS ON HOW TO MARKET AN IMPROVED PROGRAM

How could institutions market more acceptable programs to people who resist? The most common responses were television, radio, and recommendations from friends who could recommend it, door-to-door recruiters (word-of-mouth). Mailings came up twice and three stressed advertising through the churches and target advertising to the housing projects, or through the NAACP or black radio stations. Offices where people pay rent was suggested by one.

•How could we get the word out on such an improved program?

Yvonne: Well, like especially in small communities, I think you should advertise in a rental office. Just, you know, so when somebody walks in they learn about it. Find places where everybody goes. The rental office is where they see your poster standing up there, you know what I mean? Because too many people don't know.

Walter: OK, I never thought about it. Well, they could use television because they have so many different things that they advertise on television. I don't know if it's cheaper or what, but they could pass flyers, you know and let them know what they're offering. A lot of people listen to the radio. I figure that WAMO [local radio station] is pretty cheap and you know they always talking about education or whatever. Put a few lines on there. Tell them how they can get in touch you know. Mostly your blacks anyway are mainly on WAMO. Also through the NAACP.

Interviewer: OK, if someone were to develop a program exactly like what you described, you know, small programs and some good teachers and that sort of thing, what would be the best way to let people in the community know about it?

Shirley: Well, TV, you know, word-of-mouth.

Interviewer: OK. Do you think they would go for it? Or do you think they would think it's just like everything else, and just not bother?

Shirley: No, they, they're smart, they'll go for it I think.

Donna: What could they do? Hire more people like you. I think that if they wanted to get the message out, they'd have to hire some people to create some kind of program or something you know. Even to mail stuff out. You know, random. If they have the money they can put it on the radio or they can make TV commercials. There's a lot of things that can be done. You could just tell people and let it be known. You know what? I'm gonna tell you this, OK? Most of the people that I know, who are not working, they have kids. OK, and I know three women right now who have children between the three of them there's like nine kids between the three of them. OK, and they're not working. They want to go somewhere. But they have the kids. They don't have a man. They're on welfare. They can't afford to pay a babysitter. OK, so I think that if they would even have options such as child care in places like this, they would definitely get a lot more people. Women who want to get out of this rut, you know, like my friends, they're on welfare, you know, but something like that, you know?

RESISTERS' COMMITMENTS TO PARTICIPATING IN IMPROVED PROGRAMS

Asked if they would attend a program which met the described conditions, the majority of Group I (personal resisters) and Group II (cultural/ideological resisters) said they would attend and would also promote it. Some kept relating such a program to Connelley or Bidwell but also said they would attend the programs if offered as described. Two of the older resisters said they were too old for school, but the third resister said she would attend only under certain conditions.

Interviewer: Would you go to an adult education program at Connelley or another adult educational center that had that type of instruction materials for you to be given input as a learner on all those things?

Gayle: Yes, I would.

Interviewer: And would you encourage other people to do that?

Gayle: Yes, I would.

Interviewer: How would you go about that?

Gayle: I would try to stress, you know, the importance of an education. Some people they need it but don't know how to go about gettin' it, and if I had this information, I would pass it along.

Interviewer: So, using those kinds of methods to market a better program to people who don't know about it, do you think they will attend if they listen to WAMO and they hear about such an adult basic education program? Would you attend?

Walter: I would and I believe a lot of them would. Because just, like, ignorance is your own weapon. I mean, it took me awhile to understand that you are hurting only yourself. You know, I mean, you see people, you see younger kids than you doing jobs they are not even equipped for but they could read. And, you know, how to do, but you couldn't fill out the application. I think that a lot of people, a lot of people don't realize ignorance is their own weapon. You know, they use it against theirselves. And if they find out what their ability is, well, I think a lot of people would be really surprised. Well, I didn't know I could do this. Shoot, I didn't know I could read this. It's simple you know. But it's too shameful to go admit to when you're 20 some years old and your 30-some and 40-some years old, you feel shameful to admit that I can't read. And that's doin' nothing but holdin' you back. And once you get over that hump, that's just like an alcoholic once he

admits that he's an alcoholic. You'd be surprised how easy it is. You know, when I finally admitted to myself that I really just had to learn to read, I had a secretary draw an application for me. Well, she said, "How long you been like this here?" I said "I've been like this for a while. I got a little attitude about this." "Well, don't get upset, don't get upset about it," she said. "You know you took the first step. Evidently you want the job." She said, "You have the ability, you have the knowledge and the intelligence to get it." I don't know why you shouldn't get it. That's neither here nor there, I didn't get it. But, you know, she made me feel better. You know, she made me feel better just by talking to me. She said I have the ability to talk, you know. I'm not *stupid*.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

1) The findings of this 20 interview project suggest that there are reasons deeper than personal/situational or institutional barriers to nonparticipation in ABE. This appears to be the case with certain adults who are aware of traditional ABE programs and would otherwise be eligible to attend, but do not. Clearly, situational barriers play a major part—the females interviewed needed child care assistance and many had financial needs. The deeper issue resides with skepticism that ABE would be anything other than school. For all, early school experiences played a powerful, pervasive part in their decisions about ABE. Significantly, the resisters saw a major value in <u>education</u>, especially for their children and for significant others. They valued <u>learning</u> for themselves and many took pride in having learned about life since leaving school. But the two concepts were compartmentalized when it came to themselves. Education always translated into *school* for them—"a necessary evil" (Shirley). They often recalled school as a horrific experience: "I couldn't take being belittled no more" (Karen); "I couldn't hack it no more" (Frederick); "I just couldn't take it any more" (Yvonne). They felt sorry, although often afraid and relieved, when they quit school. As one Walter said, "I was pushed out."

2) Resisters were of two types. One group felt embittered by the insensitivity of teachers and fellow students, and were reluctant to return for personal resistance reasons. The other group felt school had been both irrelevant and insulting since their own culture had been ignored or demeaned. This constituted: Group I, personal resisters; and Group II, cultural/ideological resisters. A third resister group of more than 50 years of age simply said school was not for them now.

3) The conditions under which learning activities would be more acceptable included small classrooms, sensitive and culturally aware instructors, close geographic location, and child care assistance. Group II stressed the need for content on the black culture and black experience. A common theme was input for Group II. From being able to talk freely and comfortably in the classroom to making suggestions for content, learners felt input would be necessary. They did not want to be treated as children. It should be stressed that unbiased course content was not the issue.

4) Marketing suggestions included use of rental offices and churches with word-of-mouth advertising stressed in most cases. Radio, TV, door-to-door, and personal testimony among peers was mentioned often. Fliers were mentioned occasionally.

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study suggests there is a difference between those who participate and those who do not (ABE dropouts as resisters remain an unresearched area). Those who do not participate appear to include those who have personal, cultural/ideological reasons for not participating, or feel they are too old to attend. In all cases, the perception of these three resister types was affected by their earlier school experience. Unbiased course content and learning was not the issue—environment, attitudes, and bias in content was. This implies that ABE must take into account an "unlearning" step in designing for resisters. The resisters need to feel that a truly accessible learning activity is relevant to their experience; sensitive to their personal needs; useful in their gaining either personal and economic advantages, or both; and that the activity will respect them as responsible adults.

To address adult resisters, access and reduction of situational barriers will probably not be enough. Learner input, personal testimony, and developing trust are necessary. This learning activity should not be schooling. Adult programming with sensitivity and value needs to be established. The suggestions of communication at church, door-to-door, and personal testimony for marketing avenues address the need for establishing trust. Therefore, it is recommended that:

1. ABE course design and marketing be based on needs assessment from the potential learners.

2. Teachers/facilitators be sensitive and respectful to the life experiences of learners. This suggests training in cultural matters and an awareness of the experiences of such learners. Local teachers/instructors would be desirable but training would still be important.

3. Course design and marketing plans need to be sensitive to the learners' mistrust and need to include an unlearning component to overcome associations with schooling. Trust building needs to be a major component of design and marketing. This might be developed with local advisory groups and learner input.

4. The issue of poverty exacerbates the situation. Availability, child care, transportation, and scheduling are all highly significant aspects which cannot be ignored if programs developed with learners are to succeed.

5. Further research is needed on the links between schooling and resistance—both nonparticipants and ABE dropouts. Clearer strategies are needed to build the knowledge base on what aspects of traditional schooling to avoid, for whom they should be avoided and under what circumstances, and how such strategies may be incorporated into ABE and literacy programs. Similarly, demonstration projects are needed to test whether programs, as described here, would be well attended.

STUDY NUMBER TWO:
APPENDIX

RESISTANCE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

I. DEMOGRAPHICS

"I wonder if we could begin by your telling me about yourself..."

OBTAIN:

Full Name_____

Mailing Address_____

_____

Age_____

Ethnic origin*_____

How long in community_____

Employment status_____

Children_____

Marital/living status**_____

Telephone number_____

Social Security Number_____

*Interviewer to obtain discretely
**If volunteered

II. EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND/PERCEPTIONS

IIa. Data

"Could you tell me about your school background?"

PROBES:

Years in public/parochial school?_____

Highest school grade completed?_____

Location of public/parochial schools?_____

Length of involvement in literacy, adult basic education or other?_____

Highest level(s) completed?_____

Location of programs?_____

How long out of adult basic/other programs?_____

IIb. Experiences

"How did you like school?" (also adult basic education if applicable?)

PROBES:

Why did you quit?_____

Did you like learning? (What subjects, why?)_____

_____

What specifically did you like least? (teachers, peers, curriculum content, attitudes, values.)_____

_____

Was school relevant?_____

Was there one part of school you considered unacceptable?_____

_____

What lead up to your decision to quit? (Was there a sequence of events? Were there identifiable stages of decisions making to quit?)

_____

_____

Were there one or more events that triggered your decision to quit?

_____

How did you feel the day you actually quit?_____

_____

What were the attitudes of your friends to your quitting? Of your family? Of your teachers? Of fellow students?_____

_____

_____

What was your feeling towards each of these attitudes?_____

_____

Have you stopped learning or continued learning since you quit? How?_____

_____

III. RESISTANCE

"Are you aware of the adult basic education program at Connelley Skills Center or others like it?"

PROBE: Evidence that they are aware of Connelley/others.

"You haven't enrolled in that program. Why is that?"

PROBE: What do you see as the value of Connelley (or similar ABE) programs?

Where is there no value?

Is ABE the same or different from your earlier school experience?

What specifically don't you like, see as unacceptable, or see as irrelevant, at Connelley (or other such ABE programs)?

What are the worst/best aspects of the Connelley program?

IV. VALUES

"Do you consider education important?"

PROBE: For yourself?

Why/why not?

For your children?

Why/why not?

V. SUGGESTIONS

"Would you ever consider taking an (academic) education program for yourself?" If so:

PROBE: What type of setting?

What type of instructor?

What type of materials?

What type of content?

What type of learner input to what decisions?

VI. MARKETING

"If a program such as this were developed, what would be the best way to get the message out?"

VII. COMMITMENT

"If the message came out in the way you described, do you think that people who haven't taken the local programs would in fact join? Would you join? Why/why not?"

STUDY NUMBER THREE: IMPROVING RETENTION IN ADULT BASIC EDUCATION AND RECOMMENDED STRATEGIES FOR EFFECTIVE INSTRUCTIONAL AND COUNSELING INTERVENTIONS

BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE FOR THIS STUDY

This study follows up two earlier studies (Quigley, 1987; 1989) where nonparticipation in literacy/ABE was investigated out of a framework of resistance to literacy. Study Number 1, informed by sociological resistance theory (Fine, 1982; Giroux, 1983; McLaren, 1989; Willis, 1977), created a theoretical base for literacy nonparticipation. Study Number 2 (Quigley, 1989) was a 353 supported project which conducted in-depth interviews with ABE resisters in Pittsburgh, those who were able but unwilling to attend established programs in the city. Study Number 3 was conducted between October 1990 and May 1991, with analysis of data being conducted in the summer of 1991. Two professional interviewers, both of Pittsburgh and both highly skilled in interviewing, one black, one white, were used. The counseling and administrative staff at both Bidwell Training and Cultural Center and at Connelley Skills Development Center, Pittsburgh, were key in making files available and cooperating in the review of the study design and of the schedule of questions.

THE RETENTION ISSUE

Attrition plagues ABE centers in the U.S.—Pennsylvania is no exception. Attrition runs as high as 70% in the lower literacy levels at many centers in Pennsylvania. The question addressed was: Why do so many leave and what can be done to change this? It is well established in the literature (Hayes, 1987, 1988; Beder, 1989a, 1990a) that situational/personal problems lead to dropout. Hayes, for instance, found six deterrents in her 1988 study: low self-confidence, social disapproval, situational barriers, low personal priority, and negative attitudes towards classes. This study was not without limitations, however, because the sample was small and, more importantly, it was conducted on participants, not nonparticipants. Beder (1989a) studied participants in Iowa, finding that low perception of need, perceived difficulty, situational barriers, and dislike of school were the most significant factors. Through these two recent studies one finds the undeniably strong theme of dislike for school. In fact, Beder found attitudinal problems and overall dislike for school to account for the greatest amount of variance in his study of

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1,321 adults (74% return) across an entire state. A longitudinal study of 18,000 students in 1,200 high schools by Cervero and Kirkpatrick (1990) found undeniable evidence that prior schooling impacted adults' decisions in later adult education. Schooling "shapes the individual" (1990, p. 92). Also revealing was a recent National Assessment of Education progress study of 3,600 adults, ages 21 to 25, who were school dropouts (Kirsch & Junglebut, 1986). Asked why they quit, their replies were strongly reflective of resistance to the schooling system (boredom = 36.5%, personal = 27.1%). Likewise, a recent study by Fingeret and Danin (1991) of students in the Literacy Volunteers of New York program found that the overriding reason adults quit ABE and came to tutoring was boredom with the programs.

Thus, resistance to literacy, derived in large part from schooling experiences, constitutes a basis for study on the role resistance may play in established settings and how it may affect attrition. Thus, in this study, resistance theory was taken into the ABE/literacy setting and the following questions were asked: Does some degree of resistance to formal ABE exist inside the ABE programs? How is it manifested? Can it be detected and can staff intervene in ways which might reduce attrition among this group?

The goals and objectives were to provide specific recommendations on more effective counseling/teaching intervention strategies, based on anticipated new knowledge concerning motivational constructs among resistant ABE student dropouts. If discovered, this could greatly assist ABE programs in dealing with resistant perceptions by students. It used a pilot study to test the hypothesis that past negative/positive school experiences are a critical factor in the decision to persist or to drop out of ABE and addressed the practitioner question, is dropout inevitable for many of those with histories of resistant attitudes to school?

PROCEDURES AND METHODS

This project was designed to investigate and to compare the attitudes of ABE resistant dropouts (test group) with program persisters (control group) using the widely recognized expectancy-valence participation model (Darkenwald, 1980; Rubenson, 1977; Van Tilburg & DuBois, 1989; Vroom, 1964). The goals gave particular attention to past schooling experiences by investigating four main areas germane to resistance and retention. This was done by comparing resisters—here termed "reluctant learners" (RLs) and persisters (Ps) according to: 1) How past schooling experiences compared within discrete categories, 2) how expectancy/valence levels compared prior to entering ABE, 3) how ABE experiences compared in discrete categories during the ABE experience, and 4) how much change in resister and persister expectancy/valence levels occurs by comparing pre- and post-impressions of ABE among RLs after the ABE experience (in persisters' case this will still be during

ABE)? As a secondary goal and outcome, it was asked how RLs perceive the possibilities of reentering ABE in the future?

On the more specific objectives related to counseling/teaching strategies, this study investigated: 1) patterns of resistance (e.g., is there a progression from reluctance, to resistance, to dropout, and if so, are there identifiable and optimal intervention points?), 2) the most appropriate advisor(s) (e.g., for these adult students, are counselors or teachers best, or would paraprofessional fellow students, or peer group support be best?), 3) relevant cultural issues, 4) common structural or administrative change possibilities to make ABE less like "school," 5) appropriate subject content. As merited, suggestions for a broader study are made to enhance generalizability for future studies in this area.

As principal investigator, I hired two trained, culturally-appropriate interviewers (one black American male, one white female, both fully familiar with the world of illiterate adults) for data collection utilizing Pittsburgh's Bidwell Training Center and Connelley Skills Center for test sites. (Full agreement was readily extended from both institutions.) Both of these are major urban centers representative of well-established and well-known ABE institutional programs in industrialized northeastern states. Both have institutionally representative retention rates of approximately 60% and 63%, respectively (personal communication, February 1990). With voluntary input from a panel of experts from the two institutions (agreement from senior administration at both institutions was readily received), a schedule of questions for the open-ended, semistructured interviews was designed. Any suggested changes to either the study design or question schedule were included at this point. Data were collected by interviews using tape recorders. I conducted data analysis with input and evaluatory assistance from specialist Dr. R. Cervero, Department of Adult Education, University of Georgia. The results were interpreted with help from one part-time assistant and a final report was typed and submitted to PDE. A $10 per subject payment was made to those in the test group only as an incentive to help cover their expenses (e.g., babysitter, transportation). The control group was interviewed on ABE time at the centers. Name-specific data is held confidential in this study and Protection of Human Subjects applications was made to Penn State.

GENERAL DESIGN

Low literacy skills and an anticipated wariness of unknown "investigators" on the part of both groups of subjects create practical problems which argued against survey questionnaires or telephone interviews in this and in Study Two. For these reasons a face-to-face, semistructured, open-ended interview method recommended itself. This project was intended to be a hypothesis-testing pilot studying a small representative sample in a single urban location. A pilot in a case study format such as this allows for thorough study without

assuming wide generalizability (Babbie, 1973; Isaac & Michael, 1979). This study provides information which can guide further research with greater ensured external validity. However, there were three possible limitations to this approach.

First, since "self-reports" can lack validity/reliability if the design or instrument is flawed or if the interviewer is unskilled (or culturally inappropriate) (Babbie, 1973), care was taken to ensure validity and reliability through the interviewer selection, training, and procedures (described below). Second, the selection of a representative sample required great care (described below) and, third, the questionnaire schedule and handling/interpretation of data required precision (Merriam & Simpson, 1984).

On the first point, the two interviewers hired for this project were fully at ease with the dropouts' culture and were accepted into it. (One had experience in my 1988-89 353 project on nonparticipant resistance—and one is a black male and professional youth counselor with the city of Pittsburgh who works with disadvantaged youth. The other was a white female who had worked extensively with illiterates and the homeless.) Based on the experience of the 1989 project, interviews were conducted and arranged by telephone by the interviewers and the institutions. In all cases interviews were conducted in mutually agreed upon locations comfortable to the dropouts, such as community centers and their homes. The control group of persisters was interviewed at the institutions but arranged by the interviewers. Although both interviewers were skilled, a training session was held for this particular project and a pilot set of two interviews per interviewer conducted in advance of the project start. Careful monitoring and feedback was conducted by the P.I. through all phases of the project.

On the second point, a questionnaire schedule of approximately 50 questions (see Appendix B) was created, drawing from the 1988-89 project on resistance, and revised with input from the expert panel before the pilot was conducted. Final revisions based on the pilot were also presented to the panel for input. The criteria for validity/reliability of the interview schedule for all concerned in its design included: research relevance, appropriateness of each question (with non-obtrusive "cross-checking" in the questions), as little ambiguity as possible, no leading questions, questions to which respondents should be expected to have knowledge, and a format and climate such that subjects should be willing to share information with a trusted interviewer (Kerlinger, 1973).

As for choosing a representative sample, the institution's counselor/teaching staff agreed to assist in choosing a sample of 20 from those who had quit the two major ABE centers within the past eight months—having left after no less than one full day or before three weeks into the program, the period of greatest dropout for both centers and generalizable to ABE. Those selected were resisters, defined and identified as having been reluctant learners: 1) They did not quit ABE primarily due to a stated/observed critical situational or

institutional barrier, 2) were never fully mentally engaged in programs (aloof, skeptical), 3) exhibited a reluctant/resistant attitude to the program but were there voluntarily (not there by court order and not, in the judgment of staff, primarily there for welfare reimbursement). In fact, the majority of those interviewed held part-time jobs. Attention was paid to a balance between females/males, blacks/whites. Since this was not a parametric, experimental design, the primary focus was to choose representative subjects from among the pool of eligible candidates. In fact, females outnumbered males in the final selection, although minority and white representation was in closer balance.

Subjects were contacted by telephone and asked to volunteer their time, with a $10 incentive for their personal costs (e.g., baby-sitting, transportation) offered. As mentioned, interviews were conducted at mutually acceptable, "neutral" locations.

The data were transcribed from taped interviews and coded. These data were analyzed on SAS and results displayed/analyzed through one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) or chi square techniques, as indicated below.

DEFINITIONS OF TERMS AND GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Broadly, the interviews determined the extent to which resisters held positive or negative expectation entering ABE that this program would help them realize their goals and the extent to which the program disappointed those aspirations. The primary focus centered on the influence of past schooling experience as the deciding factor. Expectancy:

> "is defined as a momentary belief concerning the likelihood that a particular act will be followed by a particular outcome. Expectancies may be described in terms of their strength. Maximal strength is indicated by subjective certainty that the act <u>will</u> be followed by the outcome while minimal (or zero) strength is indicated by subjective certainty that the act <u>will not</u> be followed by the outcome" (Vroom, 1964).

As for belief that certain goals should be attained, levels of valence were investigated. Unlike broader constructs such as need, motive, value, and interest (see Vroom, p. 15), valence (for historical evolution of terms see Lewin, 1938; Tolman, 1959) is aligned with more specific constructs such as attitude, preference, and expected utility. Valence "denotes a positive or negative affective attitude toward the outcome of an action, such as participation" (Darkenwald, 1980, p. 8) and is defined as "affective orientations towards particular outcomes" (Vroom, p. 15). Thus, "an outcome is positively valent when a person prefers attaining it to not attaining it" (Vroom, p. 15). As a working definition here, valence was used as the affective

orientation or level of belief concerning certain outcomes that their attainment will be personally desirable.

SPECIFIC PROCEDURES

In the investigation, semistructured, open-ended interviews were used to inquire into valence and expectancy difference to establish specific resistance constructs between resisters and persisters and, where appropriate, questions of how much difference may be involved was also addressed. The study was designed and is described as follows:

Comparison of Pre-Post Resistance Constructs Between Persisters & Resisters

BEFORE ABE COMPARED WITH AFTER ABE	
Investigation Area #1	Investigation Area #3
SCHOOLING ENCOURAGERS/ DISCOURAGERS	ABE ENCOURAGERS/ DISCOURAGERS
a) teachers b) course content c) in-school peer support d) out-of-school family/significant other relations e) educational supports f) school environment	a) teachers b) course content c) in-ABE peer support d) out-of-ABE family/ significant other support e) ABE supports f) ABE environment
Investigation Area #2	Investigation Area #4
PREEXPECTANCY/VALENCE GOING INTO ABE	POSTEXPECTANCY/ VALENCE DURING/ AFTER ABE

Persisters (n=20), Resisters (n=17)

Area #1) Past educational history and experiences in schooling were the first area of investigation under the headings: a) teachers, b) course content, c) in-school peer relations and support, d) out-of-school family/significant others relations and support, e) educational supports (e.g., counselors and informal teacher counseling support), and f) school environment (e.g., building layout, classroom seating arrangements). The extent to which each of these was either a "discourager" or "encourager" was measured in the analysis using a

weighting based on standardized precise descriptors (e.g., identified adjectives, adverbs, phrases) (Miles & Huberman, 1984) denoting how positive or negative each of the school factors was as an encourager or discourager towards completion of school for each group. For instance, if a reply was that ABE was "just like earlier school," or "somewhat like earlier school," "not really like earlier school," or "not at all like earlier school," they received a 1-5 weighing, a "1" denoting a strong support, a "5" no support for the statement.

Area #2) The nature of success as defined by the subjects, the valence/expectancy that ABE would fulfill such aspirations prior to entry to ABE, and their own expected levels of success were the next areas investigated. Here, using one-way ANOVA on SAS, data were compared and contrasted by respective groups under the headings of expectancy/valence. Weighting was assigned by subject response on the expectancy/valence each had going into ABE based on the level (1-5). Again, standardized semistructured questions allowed open responses but interviewers drew questions to a judgment level so that a weighting number could be assigned (Van Tilburg & DuBois, 1989).

Area #3) The ABE experience itself was the next area investigated, again, with focus on the parallel categories (see above) of: 1) ABE teachers, 2) ABE course content, 3) ABE peer relations and support, 4) outside-of-ABE family/significant others relations and support, 5) educational supports (e.g., counselors and informal teacher counseling support), and 6) ABE environment (e.g., building layout, classroom seating arrangement). Again, the extent to which each of these was either a discourager or encourager was measured in the (later) data analysis using a weighting based on standardized precise descriptors denoting how positive or negative each of the school factors was as an encourager or discourager towards completion of ABE. These data were compared with the data from prior school history (Area #1, above).

Area #4) The post-effects on expectancy/valence after dropping out were measured to determine if the resisters had a positive or negative perception of ABE now. This was compared with the expectancy/valence of persisters using data from Area #2, before they entered ABE. Although speculative and low in reliability/validity, as a possible secondary outcome, the perception of ABE for the future in their lives and how they would recommend ABE to others was also investigated at this point.

Semistructured, open-ended interviews were used with cassette tape recorders for validity of data. Interviews were transcribed precisely from recorded tape. The scissors and sort method of content-analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1984) were used for handling interview content for interview areas which do not lend themselves to coding; data from areas which did were systematically weighted using precise descriptors and a scale of 1-5 (Miles & Huberman, 1984) and analyzed by one-way ANOVA and chi square statistical methods (Isaac & Michael, 1979; Merriam & Simpson, 1984).

ANALYSIS OF DATA: DESCRIPTION OF STUDY POPULATION*

Ethnicity, Gender, Age, Institution Attended, Employment Status, Marital Status, Children: The population consisted of more blacks than any other category (73.0%, Table 3.1), with more females than males (64.9%, Table 3.2); 8 of 17 RLs were ages 16-21 while 7 of 20 Ps were 28-33 (Table 3.5), giving a higher mean age for Ps than RLs. Seventeen were selected from Connelley Skills center, 20 from Bidwell (Table 3.3). Further, the majority were on social assistance (67.6%, Table 3.4) and the majority (27%) were in the 28-33 age bracket (Table 3.5). Subjects were mainly separated or single (75.7%, Table 3.6), the majority had three children (29.7%, Table 3.7).

Grade Level Attained in School, Years Out of School, Years Lived in the Local Area: The mean for grade attained was 8.7 for persisters, 9.4 for reluctant learners (Table 3.8). Years out of school at the mean on chi square, was between one and two years (Table 3.9); the majority had lived in the area with a mean of 31.1 years for persisters and 27.17 for resisters (Table 3.10).

PERSISTERS AND RELUCTANT LEARNERS' EARLY SCHOOL EXPERIENCES COMPARED

Significantly, RLs were slightly more comfortable than Ps back in school (Table 3.12) when asked if they recalled being comfortable in the school setting. Again, RLs felt a slightly higher sense of significance while in school (Table 3.12) and RLs means were almost the same as Ps when asked if they liked their teachers (Table 3.14) and almost the same when asked about the relevance of school subjects (Table 3.18)—"How did they do on their school subjects?" Little difference appears in the chi square statistic (p=.05) between the two groups (Table 3.16) on grade levels. Approaching significance (at the .05 level), however, RLs felt they did <u>not</u> receive adequate attention from their school teachers (Table 3.15) and, showing strong statistical significance (p=0.0126 at .05 level), RLs felt that they <u>did</u> receive adequate attention from counselors (Table 3.17)—Ps clearly did not need the help of counselors and had less interaction with them.

Forming a portrait of RLs compared with Ps, reluctant learners had far fewer friends (Table 3.19) showing as a chi square significant (0.025 at the .05 level). In fact, for RLs, almost 65%, had only one to seven friends in school; whereas, Ps were popular by comparison with 65% having between eight and more than 15 friends. At this level, it is significant that 45% of Ps received support from no one. Almost half were effectively "self-sufficient." RLs received help on an almost equal distribution from self, friends, and twice as much from their

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*All tables are found in Appendix A. All names used are fictitious.

mother (Table 3.20). Perhaps by virtue of their younger age, RLs had significant support from their immediate family in school. Mothers played an important role for several but, curiously, when asked "Who cared if they quit?" (Table 3.22), RLs then said their mothers did not seem very concerned.

Support for reluctant learners came from a range of sources and, by contrast to Ps, only two out of 17 RLs looked to themselves for support. RLs needed and sought support, Ps did not—accounting for RLs much higher interaction with counselors in both school and ABE. Almost 24% of RLs gave "other" for "Who cared?" as no one within their friends or family cared when this percentage quit. Whether by choice or by default (such was beyond the scope of this study) RLs were apparently "loners" with a few close friends and remained so in ABE. They seemed to seek support from several sources but got little when they quit school or ABE except from a handful of close friends. Importantly, RLs interviewed were influenced by these few friends to quit school with strong statistical significance (0.0061 at P=.05) (Table 3.21). Ps were not as influenced by friends or anyone else. Thus, with only a few influential friends, little support given elsewhere for their educational efforts, despite their reported comfort level in school (Table 3.12), their high interest in the school subjects (see Table 3.18) and grades being basically the same as Ps (Table 3.16), they dropped out still determined to return because they kept a very high belief (valence) in the value of education.

Asked what they thought of the schooling system now that they reflected on it as adults, the answers fell into two categories, those who felt wounded by the schooling system, such as Thelma who replied, "They need to just be more caring. They don't care about what nobody feels or what they have to go through. It should be different. They should care more. . .They always say, 'Education is important,' Why put me through hell then?" And, secondly, those who shrugged it off, were more independent of friends—loners by choice. For example, to the question, "How would you prefer school?" Gail answered, "No teachers at all, just give me the work. . .There was a lot of 'metal heads' and I didn't get along with them but. . .I was, like, by myself, really. All I did, you know, was like, walk around, go to classes by myself and talk to certain people."

Significantly, RLs never lost their belief in education as a value. In fact, RLs gave a slightly higher perceived value to education after quitting school than Ps (Table 3.23)—20% of the variance of Ps perceived value of education accounted for with their saying education had little or no value whatsoever after they quit. Whereas only 11% of the variance of RLs said education was of little or no value at the time they quit.

Thus, RLs left school committed to the value (valence) of school, slightly higher than Ps. Their grades were basically the same as Ps. They returned to ABE with the same high valence going in and, as seen, their expectancy of ABE was considerably higher than Ps

expectancy. They entered more independent than Ps and were much more demanding and critical of the ABE system early on.

ENTERING ADULT BASIC EDUCATION

Both groups felt ABE was something they wanted to do. In fact, (Table 3.25) RLs and Ps were almost exactly the same in their weighted desire to attend ABE. Consistently, RLs had slightly less self-doubt (expectancy) than Ps (Table 3.26) entering the ABE program. The answer to the question of self-doubt was, "No, not at all." Very significant, however, in two cross-over questions (Tables 3.27 & 3.28 respectively), RLs felt strongly ABE either was "not really like earlier school" or "not at all like earlier school." In fact, RLs had expected ABE to be like earlier school more than Ps (Table 3.28). RLs approach statistical significance again when their response to the overall ABE environment was that they liked it very much upon entry (Table 3.29), and felt "comfortable" or "very comfortable" in ABE early on (Table 3.30). Perhaps because of their younger age, several RLs were surprised to find the adult level of the institution and said it reminded them of college. RLs such as Deborah, "Thought there were going to be more kids. . .but there wasn't that many there. But when I talked to the lady in the office, she told me there was like an 80-year-old woman there. I was shocked. I was surprised. I saw some in the hallways, that surprised me." RLs also found ABE course work to be generally easy. Linda "thought it was going to be hard because people say taking the GED test is hard. Yeah. You got to write a big essay and all that. But once you open up that book and you get to looking up the easy stuff, it's not that hard. . .Once I went there, I said, 'Aw, this stuff ain't hard.'"

RLs found they were "comfortable" or "very comfortable" with the ABE teachers (almost exactly the same as Ps) (Table 3.32), but were soon very disappointed to find that ABE teachers were "not at all like previous teachers" (Table 3.33) once ABE was underway. They had strongly expected teachers to be at least "somewhat like previous teachers" (Table 3.34). Several, like Jackie, said that in school, "Some people are too proud to ask for help"; it seems that the RLs had the same pattern in ABE. Forming a pattern with earlier schooling, there was strong statistical significance in their dissatisfaction with the lack of attention RLs received from teachers (Table 3.35). They had been dissatisfied with earlier school teachers and felt they received only slightly more attention from ABE teachers.

In general, RLs' sense of a lack of attention added to their perceived lack of challenge. They were underchallenged, even bored by ABE. Linda stated: "They could have given me a lot more work. A challenge. And even if they knew I couldn't do it, give it to me anyway. I always wanted a challenge from school. You know, give me something I can work up against. . .That's what I wanted. I wanted more of a challenge."

As a group, apparently more field independent and very goal oriented in ABE, RLs, such as Melinda, had little interest in friends or commitment to the staff in ABE. They were dissatisfied with the progress of their learning in ABE and decided they could do as well learning on their own: "I really liked going but then I was thinking, well. . .he's [the teacher] going really fast. Most of the stuff he was teaching I understood. Now some of the things I got stuck on, but I, you know, I come home and I studied it and I was thinking, well, maybe I should, just quit anyhow because I could probably just learn this myself. . .What he was teaching I probably could have learned on my own anyway."

Again, others, such as Gail, were similarly dissatisfied with their progress and the lack of attention they received and silently wished they had a tutor. In Gail's case, "It's just that I did not want to be in a classroom. I wanted one-on-one." Diane quit because she felt, "The teacher just said you, like, you sit down and we are reading in groups." She quit and got a tutor from the local tutoring program and "I learned more from literacy in two to three months than I did in the two and a half years I been coming here [ABE]." One P, Dy, would perhaps have been an RL because she left one of the two institutions (Connelley) because "I didn't learn nothing at Connelley because it was just like going to school." She heard about the other institution (Bidwell) which had individual teaching and this system, "reopened my mind. . .So that's why I'm staying at Bidwell."

RLs believed they were "progressing well" (Table 3.36) in their ABE subjects, as did Ps, but between not enough teacher attention and boredom, and (statistically significant) dissatisfaction with the relevance of ABE course subjects (Table 3.39) only exacerbated the problem: "It's just like 'Do this division problem.' You know, for nothing. Well, 'What's it pertaining to? Well, nothing. It's math: ha, ha." (Melinda). Others were bored and found the material irrelevant. In Shirley's case, "They were just basically trying to teach us what was going to be on the GED test." Ps had less trouble with the relevance of course subject material. Laurie, for instance, said, "I thought it [ABE] would apply more to life today. I think, after I achieved and got what I wanted, I get me a nice big job." Asked if subjects were more relevant, in ABE compared to school, Persister Laurie replied they were. Persister Clarisse said she is able to use what she learns in "real life" and Jack answered to a comparison between school and ABE subject relevance: "It has to be!" Persister Connie felt, "You are only studying what you need to study" and ABE "is pretty much the way I pictured it." Thus, course content was a problem for RLs both in ABE and school but RLs expected more relevance from ABE courses then Ps did.

For RLs, their recourse after a few days or 1 to 2 weeks was, like in earlier school, to the ABE counselor. RLs expected their ABE counselor to be like their school counselor (Table 3.37). They found their ABE counselor "somewhat helpful" and "very helpful" (Table 3.38). Persisters, such as Meredith, had little or no interaction with

the ABE counselor: "Like I said, in school I didn't deal with none of the counselors." In ABE she had no reason to meet with the counselor. For RLs, the counselor played a large part. For Terrise, her school counselor "wouldn't do nothing. . .She didn't try to help me or nothing." In ABE, the counselor was "very much different": "He kept pushing. He kept calling me, 'Well, you know you better come to school' sending messages by my aunt. . .He kept on bugging me." For Diane, her school counselor "listed all this stuff for three years and I haven't seen any of it come to pass yet." ABE was better. As for Persister Mary, "He just talked. You know, just, that's his business and I did mine with the class." Despite more interest in RLs by the counselor, counselors alone could not hold RLs.

Did RLs have friends in school and ABE? Like school, both Ps and RLs had "about the same number of friends in ABE as in school" (Table 3.40)—in other words, Ps remained popular, RLs had few friends. RL Melinda said, "Sometimes I felt out of place. . .I mean, I know I was different from a lot of people that attended there. . .I sort of felt that I didn't fit in all the way." School and ABE did not fill a social need in their lives in general. RL Rita said, "I think that just, for me leaving school and experiencing life for myself, I think that's what helped me most." Others such as Allen said, "I'm self-educated now, because I've learned through the TV, through the radio, through the papers. I've taught myself how to read. I've always kept glued to the paper, books, I taught my own self how to read."

Significantly, RLs turned to the ABE counselor for help (Table 3.43) accounting for 47.06% of the variance (8 of 17); 41.18% (7 of 17) said "self only" and, very significant, *not one went at any point to their teacher, (0%).* If they were "comfortable" with the teachers, it was not enough to raise their concerns. Evidently, they felt it would have made little difference. They turned to a one-on-one relation with counselors, as they had done (or at least tried) back in school.

By contrast, Ps felt they received "a great deal more" from the ABE programs and teachers in particular. Ps, who may not have needed as much help, turned to teachers (Table 3.43; 15%, 3 of 20; and counselors 15%, 3 of 20). Teachers, for persisters, were not what they had expected in that Ps such as Linda "thought they were going to be like little old nags. . .Give you more than you can handle." Instead, according to Linda, "I felt good the way they treated me" and, "I got more attention in the program than in school." For Persister Jackie, "They give you self-confidence. . .They believe in you when you don't believe in yourself." Diane said the way teachers treated her was "Warming. It was warming. They let you know, look, I'm here to help you. If you have a problem don't feel bad because we're all here to help you." Like the other Ps, she felt she got "more attention" from ABE teachers. Catherine said ABE teachers "are more encouraging than school teachers. . .They're interested in your learning."

By contrast, RLs such as Tim, said "I was comfortable. They treated me OK. They just didn't get a chance to know me. That's the way it was." Others, such as Dy, said, "Some people like me I'm too

shy. . .But see, if I can't learn that word I have to call her over. She say it loud, she have to say it loud. I got to know that word. You know?. . .They don't pay attention to your needs." Outside of the program, (Table 3.44), RLs turned to their mothers (17.6%), their children (17.6%), their relatives (17.6%), their fiance(e) (11.7%), but mostly, to themselves (29.4%). For most of the RLs, there was no support. Asked were there any people or anybody giving you support outside of Bidwell, Dianna answered, "No." Family or friends? "No." You were on your own? "Yes."

What was an encouragement for RLs to stay in ABE? Peers (Table 3.45) accounted for no amount (0%) of the variance. Instead, the ABE atmosphere (35.29%) was the most encouraging, with teachers (23.5% or 4 out of 17) and counselors (17.6% or 3 out of 17) in that order. RLs liked the ABE atmosphere but it was not giving them the educational relevance or emotional support they felt they needed. Asked who cared if they quit ABE, the highest RL response was "friends outside of ABE" (23.5%, 4 out of 17 responses; Table 3.46). Thus, the small group of outside friends remains significant to RLs and the ABE counselor (23.5%, 4 out of 17 responses; Table 3.46) inside ABE. Interestingly, only 2 (11.7%) said teachers cared if they quit and only 1 (5.8%) said their mother, only 2 (11.7%) said teachers cared. For RLs, the ABE program was a more alienating, less satisfactory place than school had been.

AFTER ADULT BASIC EDUCATION

When reluctant learners were asked if they would return to ABE after they had quit, and if they still considered education important even after dropping out, their overwhelming response was that education was, "very important" (13 out of 16 gave the highest rating, "very important"; 3 out of 16 said "important") and that they "would definitely go back," 11 out of 15, 73.4% said "yes definitely"; 3 out of 15 said "don't know"; 1 said "probably not") if asked. Significantly, several of the reluctant learners had engaged a tutor or were pursuing further basic education but not in ABE. While their expectancy of ABE had diminished, their valence on education remained high. While almost 65% had valued education as "very important" or "important" after quitting earlier school (Table 3.23), 73.4% of RLs said education was now "very important," after quitting ABE—an increase in valence. Thus, their valence had risen, but expectancy of structured ABE had obviously decreased, evidenced by the fact that they had not returned to ABE and several had pursued one-on-one tutoring. Their self-doubt level of self expectancy had not been seriously affected evidenced by the fact that some had a tutor or while others said they were returning to literacy tutoring. Their statement of intended return would need to be tested to see if they would go back to ABE if asked. Their self-doubt level may be lower than indicated if tested in this way. Their attitude to ABE is revealing, in that they were not embittered by the

experience and none were particularly critical of any individual or the centers themselves.

CONCLUSIONS/RECOMMENDATIONS

In this series of 37 in-depth interviews of 17 reluctant learners (RLs) and 20 persisters (Ps) in ABE at Connelley Skills Center and Bidwell Training Center in Pittsburgh, conducted at RLs homes or neutral locations (in the ABE Centers for Ps), it was found that a comparatively young group did not mentally engage in ABE, remaining aloof with few friends and with little interaction with the teacher. The point of contact comes only with the counselor and that interaction is considered "valuable" as compared with their previous school counselor whom they also found to be of value. Significantly, the counselor is about the only one identified among family, friends, or significant others—including people in the ABE program—who, they said, particularly cared whether they quit or not.

Most important, RLs expected ABE to be like school—teachers, subjects, counselor. They entered with few self-doubts, appreciated the open atmosphere of the ABE Center and felt quite comfortable with the teachers. They had few friends in school; they made few friends in ABE. They had little support outside of school; they had little in ABE. When they found the teachers were "very unlike school teachers," that the subject material was less relevant than school material, and overall, when they found ABE to be less like school than they had expected or hoped; as they grew bored, underchallenged and—with little support inside or outside the ABE Center—they chose to quit. Several said they could do it on their own, several others wanted one-on-one tutoring or more attention from teachers. Unlike the more apparently field dependent persisters, reluctant learners were more goal oriented, wanted a more intense and challenging academic program than they got and, significantly, none of the RLs felt close enough to the teachers to raise a problem or complain. The counselor—one-on-one—played that role for several of them.

Interestingly, their valuing (valence) of education before ABE had gone up slightly as compared to after quitting school, but their expectancy of ABE had gone down. Some were already engaged in one-on-one tutoring elsewhere and others said they would go back if asked. They had not been asked at the time of the interview, thus, this statement would need to be tested.

1. THE COUNSELOR OR PERSON OF FIRST CONTACT SHOULD DERIVE KEY INFORMATION ABOUT THE STUDENTS' PAST AND PREVIOUS SCHOOLING EXPERIENCES. Counselors or the person of first contact with the student are the most significant persons in the ABE life of the reluctant learner. This person plays a key role in whether the RL stays in the program or not since not one RL turned to the teacher and they made few friends of any significance in ABE. This person needs to be sensitive to younger ABE students particularly on intake. According to this study, the evident issue is less a factor of

race or gender, than age. The person of first contact needs to establish expectations by asking the apparent new RL students if they received "adequate attention" from earlier school teachers, and if they expect considerable attention from ABE teachers now. Secondly, the first contact person should ask if they had friends in school and if they expect to make friends here. Thirdly, it is recommended that counselors ask if school subjects seemed relevant back in school and if they expect subjects to be more relevant in ABE. By getting an "expectancy profile" they would be better able to judge the appropriate classroom structure to consider and degree of counselor/teacher support to anticipate.

If the ABE system wants to retain these students, the teacher must be aware that these students will need more attention than they ever request themselves. This is in part due to the learners' dissatisfaction with teachers in the past; however, these students are more interested in the course material, are more goal directed, and less socially oriented than typical persisters. These are serious students who need considerable challenge and support. It is suggested that this type of student is a "personal/emotive resister" (Quigley, 1989)—an apparent field dependent person by choice or default—who was emotionally bothered by teachers' and fellow students' attitudes in school before. Although they highly value education and knowledge, these RLs are wary of others in ABE. Often shy, reticent, and more introspective, RLs are younger than Ps, at least in this study, and had positive, one-on-one experiences with counselors in the past, and seek such in the present. They look to the counselor for help—the only one they do look to in the center.

That RLs had a few strong friends in school and were influenced by them to quit school. They still had a few outside friends. This would suggest that close friends in ABE would be a big help and influence. To this end, student support groups might be useful for such students. Clearly, teachers go to those who "fit in better," those who ask good questions, who are more visible, who are more involved. They evidently unconsciously ignore or unknowingly make self-conscious RLs who do not want to be singled out before the class. It would seem that teachers need to be more sensitive to and pay much more attention to RLs. By RLs frequent requests for one-on-one interaction and their seeking one-on-one interactions with the counselor, the indications that teachers need to be sensitive to these students suggests sensitivity training/communications training would be helpful. However, the institution should provide one-on-one tutoring alternatives in and outside of the classroom/institution and consider referring RLs to such programs within the first few days/weeks of ABE.

2. A CAREFULLY PLANNED INTAKE PROCESS WHICH GIVES MORE ATTENTION TO THOSE WHO NEED MORE ATTENTION SHOULD BE CONSIDERED BY THE INSTITUTION. At present, ABE centers are careful to treat every student equally—equal testing, equal orientation, judicious use of staff time for every student. This is really

as much for institutional expediency and the observance that each student is due equal intake attention. However, needs are not equal. Certain students, namely the RLs, display signs of disengagement within the first few days and, upon intake, could provide background and personal expectation information to the counselor which would indicate they need more attention. The RLs were consistently younger which suggests that the counselor needs to be aware of younger students. More teacher attention is a definite need, but attention which does not single the RL out or embarrass the RL before others. Thus, a tutoring, one-on-one or small group alternative may need to be recommended. If this cannot be provided, institutions should refer RLs to local tutoring programs within the first few days/weeks.

3. THE ABE CENTER NEEDS TO BE ACADEMICALLY CHALLENGING, MORESO THAN SCHOOL AND MORESO THAN PRESENT ABE. The RL expects ABE to be like school and comes primarily for academic reasons. The RL quits when it is not. The center may feel these students are too young or too immature for this program but that is a normative judgment. The issue is whether the centers want to increase their retention or not. Using the above suggestions will help in RLs need to be challenged and stay in the program.

4. ONE-ON-ONE TUTORING, SMALL GROUP TUTORING, POSSIBLY SUPPORT GROUPS SHOULD BE ALTERNATIVES FOR THIS POTENTIAL DROPOUT. Since these students had few friends before in school and seem not to need friends to stay or succeed in ABE, course academics need to be placed over the social aspects of the ABE center. One way to do this is to provide a more intense teaching/learning environment to keep the challenge level high. This would seem particularly appropriate in that several of the RLs had pursued tutoring after quitting.

5. THE COUNSELOR SHOULD FOLLOW-UP WITH RELUCTANT LEARNERS. It is possible that many who say they would go back to ABE would do so since valence remains so high with this group. However, if nothing has changed in the ABE center, it is unlikely that RLs would stay a second time. Tutoring or referral to a tutoring program should be offered the RL at the time of the follow-up contact. They may respond better to an alternative than being offered what was unacceptable before. Teachers, administrators, or fellow students would appear to be less desirable for the follow-up contact than counselors who were frustrated.

FURTHER RESEARCH NEEDED: Based on this study, it is apparent there is a reluctant learner population in ABE. However, a much wider study needs to be conducted to verify this. A further study is needed to see if RLs who drop out would actually return. It would be useful to see if the counselor, peers, administrators, or significant others would actually be best to do this follow-up. On a broader scale, more research between schooling and literacy/ABE is needed to understand the dynamics of resistance, reluctance, and persistence. This area has a rich potential for counselors, teachers,

recruiters, administrators, and policy makers. The tendency to ignore the early life of ABE/literacy students is an error, as suggested by this research. Researchers need to examine school as a factor in what shapes the lives of literacy students. As Cervero and Fitzpatrick (1990, p. 94) state:

> Governmental policymakers who offer programs such as adult basic education and job retraining need to recognize that participation in these programs is not simply a matter of individual choice constructed under present circumstances but that this choice is conditioned by the historical matrix of individuals' lives. These officials, educators, and other researchers must better understand the long-standing and enduring nature of the factors in which a decision to participate is embedded before they decry the low participation rates in these programs. But these factors must be recognized before they can be acted upon.

The field needs to understand its own willing, potentially committed, participants better. Reluctant learners, like resisters, seriously want an education. Further research on how best to fulfill their ambitions will well serve state and policymakers' ambitions in the long run if we have the will and support to continue learning from our own learners.

STUDY NUMBER THREE:
APPENDIX A

Table 3.1
Subject Ethnicity

FREQUENCY PERCENT ROW PCT COL PCT	GRP 1	GRP 2	TOTAL
1	14 37.84 51.85 70.00	13 35.14 48.15 76.47	27 72.97
2	4 10.81 50.00 20.00	4 10.81 50.00 23.53	8 21.62
3	1 2.70 100.00 5.00	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	1 2.70
4	1 2.70 100.00 5.00	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	1 2.70
TOTAL	20 54.05	17 45.95	37 100.00

STATISTIC	DF	VALUE	PROB
CHI-SQUARE	3	1.806	0.614
LIKELIHOOD RATIO CHI-SQUARE	3	2.566	0.463
MANTEL-HAENSZEL CHI-SQUARE	1	0.928	0.335
PHI		0.221	
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT		0.216	
CRAMER'S V		0.221	

SAMPLE SIZE = 37

Key:
1 = Black, 2 = Caucasian, 3 = Spanish American, 4 = Native Indian, 5 = Other
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.2
Gender of Subjects

FREQUENCY PERCENT ROW PCT COL PCT	GRP 1	GRP 2	TOTAL
1	9 24.32 69.23 45.00	4 10.81 30.77 23.53	13 35.14
2	11 29.73 45.83 55.00	13 35.14 54.17 76.47	24 64.86
TOTAL	20 54.05	17 45.95	37 100.00

STATISTIC	DF	VALUE	PROB
CHI-SQUARE	1	1.859	0.173
LIKELIHOOD RATIO CHI-SQUARE	1	1.897	0.168
CONTINUITY ADJ. CHI-SQUARE	1	1.036	0.309
MANTEL-HAENSZEL CHI-SQUARE	1	1.808	0.179
FISHER'S EXACT TEST (1-TAIL)			0.155
(2-TAIL)			0.300
PHI		0.224	
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT		0.219	
CRAMER'S V		0.224	

SAMPLE SIZE = 37

Key:
1 = males, 2 = females
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.3
Institution Attended

FREQUENCY / PERCENT / ROW PCT / COL PCT	GRP 1	GRP 2	TOTAL
1	10	10	20
	27.03	27.03	54.05
	50.00	50.00	
	50.00	58.82	
2	10	7	17
	27.03	18.92	45.95
	58.82	41.18	
	50.00	41.18	
TOTAL	20	17	37
	54.05	45.95	100.00

STATISTIC	DF	VALUE	PROB
CHI-SQUARE	1	0.288	0.591
LIKELIHOOD RATIO CHI-SQUARE	1	0.289	0.591
CONTINUITY ADJ. CHI-SQUARE	1	0.042	0.837
MANTEL-HAENSZEL CHI-SQUARE	1	0.280	0.597
FISHER'S EXACT TEST (1-TAIL)			0.419
(2-TAIL)			0.743
PHI		-0.088	
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT		0.088	
CRAMER'S V		-0.088	

SAMPLE SIZE = 37

Key:
1 = Bidwell, 2 = Connelly
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.4
Employment of Subjects

FREQUENCY / PERCENT / ROW PCT / COL PCT	GRP 1	GRP 2	TOTAL
1	3 8.11 75.00 15.00	1 2.70 25.00 5.88	4 10.81
3	13 35.14 52.00 65.00	12 32.43 48.00 70.59	25 67.57
4	4 10.81 50.00 20.00	4 10.81 50.00 23.53	8 21.62
TOTAL	20 54.05	17 45.95	37 100.00

STATISTIC	DF	VALUE	PROB
CHI-SQUARE	2	0.802	0.670
LIKELIHOOD RATIO CHI-SQUARE	2	0.843	0.656
MANTEL-HAENSZEL CHI-SQUARE	1	0.653	0.419
PHI		0.147	
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT		0.146	
CRAMER'S V		0.147	

SAMPLE SIZE = 37
WARNING: 66% OF THE CELLS HAVE EXPECTED COUNTS LESS THAN 5.
CHI-SQUARE MAY NOT BE A VALID TEST.

Key:
1 = full-time employed, 2 = part-time employed, 3 = social assistance,
4 = other.
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.5
Age brackets of subjects

FREQUENCY / PERCENT / ROW PCT / COL PCT	GRP 1	GRP 2	TOTAL
1	1 2.70 11.11 5.00	8 21.62 88.89 47.06	9 24.32
2	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	1 2.70 100.00 5.88	1 2.70
3	7 18.92 70.00 35.00	3 8.11 30.00 17.65	10 27.03
4	2 5.41 66.67 10.00	1 2.70 33.33 5.88	3 8.11
5	6 16.22 75.00 30.00	2 5.41 25.00 11.76	8 21.62
6	4 10.81 66.67 20.00	2 5.41 33.33 11.76	6 16.22
TOTAL	20 54.05	17 45.95	37 100.00

STATISTIC	DF	VALUE	PROB
CHI-SQUARE	5	10.873	0.054
LIKELIHOOD RATIO CHI-SQUARE	5	12.098	0.033
MANTEL-HAENSZEL CHI-SQUARE	1	6.805	0.009
PHI		0.542	
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT		0.477	
CRAMER'S V		0.542	

Key:
1 = 16 -21, 2 = 22 -27, 3 = 28 - 33, 4 = 34 - 39, 5 = 40 - 50, 6 = 50+
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.6
Marital Status of Subjects

FREQUENCY / PERCENT / ROW PCT / COL PCT	GRP 1	GRP 2	TOTAL
1	2 5.41 66.67 10.00	1 2.70 33.33 5.88	3 8.11
2	3 8.11 60.00 15.00	2 5.41 40.00 11.76	5 13.51
3	15 40.54 53.57 75.00	13 35.14 46.43 76.47	28 75.68
5	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	1 2.70 100.00 5.88	1 2.70
TOTAL	20 54.05	17 45.95	37 100.00

STATISTIC	DF	VALUE	PROB
CHI-SQUARE	3	1.442	0.696
LIKELIHOOD RATIO CHI-SQUARE	3	1.827	0.609
MANTEL-HAENSZEL CHI-SQUARE	1	0.949	0.330
PHI		0.197	
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT		0.194	
CRAMER'S V		0.197	

SAMPLE SIZE = 37

Key:
1 = married, 2 = divorced, 3 = separated & single, 4 = common law, 5 = widowed
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.7
Number of children of subjects

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	1.65000000	1.56524758	0.35000000	0	5.00000000
2	17	2.29411765	1.61108294	0.39074501	0	6.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	-1.2279	33.7	0.2280
EQUAL	-1.2308	35.0	0.2266

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F'=1.06 WITH 16 AND 19 DF
PROB > F' = 0.8946

Key:
1=1, 2=2, 3=3 etc.
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.8
Grade level attained in school

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	8.70000000	2.36420678	0.52865271	2.00000000	11.00000000
2	17	9.41176471	1.66052791	0.40273717	6.00000000	12.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	-1.0710	33.9	0.2917
EQUAL	-1.0411	35.0	0.3050

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' =2.03 WITH 19 AND 16 DF
PROB > F' = 0.1587

Key:
5=5, 6=6, etc.
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.9
Years out of school

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	25.00000000	14.31598297	3.20115111	2.00000000	56.00000000
2	17	12.41176471	11.80603036	2.86338295	1.00000000	34.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	2.9310	35.0	0.0059
EQUAL	2.8848	35.0	0.0067

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' = 1.47 WITH 19 AND 16 DF
PROB > F' = 0.4404

Key:
1 = 1 year, 2 = 2 year, 3 = 3 years and etc.
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.10
Years lived in local area

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	31.10000000	13.49034743	3.01653339	2.00000000	57.00000000
2	17	27.17647059	13.58876049	3.29575852	500000000	50.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	0.8782	34.0	0.3860
EQUAL	0.8787	35.0	0.3856

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' =1.01 WITH 16 AND 19 DF
PROB > F' = 0.9652

Key:
1 = 1, 2 = 2, etc.
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.11
Response to school environment

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	3.05000000	1.57195822	0.35150054	1.00000000	5.00000000
2	17	2.88235294	1.11143786	0.26956328	1.00000000	5.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	0.3785	34.0	0.7074
EQUAL	0.3681	35.0	0.7150

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' = 2.00 WITH 19 AND 16 DF
PROB > F' = 0.1665

Key:
1 - 5 = 1 liked very much 5 disliked very much
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.12
Comfort level in school

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	3.35000000	1.59851905	0.35743973	1.00000000	5.00000000
2	17	2.88235294	1.45268514	0.35232790	1.00000000	5.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	0.9318	34.8	0.3579
EQUAL	0.9244	35.0	0.3616

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' =1.21 WITH 19 AND 16 DF
PROB > F' = 0.7055

Key:
1 = very comfortable 5 = very uncomfortable
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.13
Sense of significance in school

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	3.85000000	1.26802789	0.28353966	1.00000000	5.00000000
2	17	2.94117647	1.47777655	0.35841346	1.00000000	5.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	1.9886	31.8	0.0554
EQUAL	2.0140	35.0	0.0517

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' =1.36 WITH 16 AND 19 DF
PROB > F' = 0.5194

Key:
1 = very comfortable 5 = very uncomfortable
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.14
How well they liked teachers

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	2.80000000	1.23969436	0.27720409	1.00000000	5.00000000
2	17	2.82352941	1.23669388	0.29994232	1.00000000	5.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	-0.0576	34.1	0.9544
EQUAL	-0.0576	35.0	0.9544

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' = 1.00 WITH 19 AND 16 DF
PROB > F' = 1.0000

Key:
1 = very comfortable 5 = very uncomfortable
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.15
How much attention received from teachers

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	3.50000000	1.23544154	0.27625313	1.00000000	5.00000000
2	17	2.82352941	1.23669388	0.29994232	1.00000000	5.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	1.6589	34.0	0.1063
EQUAL	1.6591	35.0	0.1060

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' = 1.00 WITH 16 AND 19 DF
PROB > F' = 0.9857

Key:
1 = a great deal 5 = none, ignored
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.16
What sort of grades attained

FREQUENCY PERCENT ROW PCT COL PCT	GRP 1	GRP 2	TOTAL
1	2 5.41 100.00 10.00	2 0.00 0.00 0.00	0 5.41
2	4 10.81 50.00 20.00	4 10.81 50.00 23.53	8 21.62
3	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	2 5.41 100.00 11.76	2 5.41
4	2 5.41 40.00 10.00	3 8.11 60.00 17.65	5 13.51
5	12 32.43 60.00 60.00	8 21.62 40.00 47.06	20 54.05
TOTAL	20 54.05	17 45.95	37 100.00

STATISTIC	DF	VALUE	PROB
CHI-SQUARE	4	4.788	0.310
LIKELIHOOD RATIO CHI-SQUARE	4	6.308	0.177
MANTEL-HAENSZEL CHI-SQUARE	1	0.001	0.970
PHI		0.360	
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT		0.339	
CRAMER'S V		0.360	

SAMPLE SIZE = 37

Key:
1 = "A's", 2 = "A's & B's", 3 = "B's", 4 = "B's & C's", 5 = "C's and lower"
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.17
Value of a counselor

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	4.75000000	0.91046547	0.20358627	1.00000000	5.00000000
2	17	3.76470588	1.67814674	0.40701037	1.00000000	5.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	2.1651	23.8	0.0407
EQUAL	2.2660	35.0	0.0297

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' =3.40 WITH 16 AND 19 DF
PROB > F' = 0.0126

Key:
1 = very helpful 5 = of no value whatsoever
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.18
Relevance of school subjects

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	2.80000000	1.67332005	0.37416574	1.00000000	5.00000000
2	16	2.62500000	1.62788206	0.40697051	1.00000000	5.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	0.3166	32.7	0.7536
EQUAL	0.3156	34.0	0.7543

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' =1.06 WITH 19 AND 15 DF
PROB > F' = 0.9270

Key:
1 = very relevant 5 = totally irrelevant
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.19
Number of friends in ABE

FREQUENCY / PERCENT / ROW PCT / COL PCT	GRP 1	GRP 2	TOTAL
1	2 5.41 50.00 10.00	2 5.41 50.00 11.76	4 10.81
2	5 13.51 62.50 25.00	3 8.11 37.50 17.65	8 21.62
3	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	6 16.22 100.00 35.29	6 16.22
4	11 29.73 78.57 55.00	3 8.11 21.43 17.65	14 37.84
5	2 5.41 40.00 10.00	3 8.11 60.00 17.65	5 13.51
TOTAL	20 54.05	17 45.95	37 100.00

STATISTIC	DF	VALUE	PROB
CHI-SQUARE	4	11.101	0.025
LIKELIHOOD RATIO CHI-SQUARE	4	13.641	0.009
MANTEL-HAENSZEL CHI-SQUARE	1	0.195	0.658
PHI		0.548	
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT		0.480	
CRAMER'S V		0.548	

SAMPLE SIZE = 37

Key:
1 = 0, 2 = 1 - 3, 3 = 4 - 7, 4 = 8 - 14, 5 = 15+
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.20
Who did you receive support from outside of ABE

FREQUENCY PERCENT ROW PCT COL PCT	GRP 1	GRP 2	TOTAL
0	9 25.00 81.82 45.00	2 5.56 18.18 12.50	11 30.56
1	1 2.78 33.33 5.00	2 5.56 66.67 12.50	3 8.33
2	5 13.89 55.56 25.00	4 11.11 44.44 25.00	9 25.00
3	1 2.78 100.00 5.00	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	1 2.78
4	1 2.78 50.00 5.00	1 2.78 50.00 6.25	2 5.56
5	1 2.78 33.33 5.00	2 5.56 66.67 12.50	3 8.33
6	1 2.78 100.00 5.00	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	1 2.78
8	1 2.78 25.00 5.00	3 8.33 75.00 18.75	4 11.11
10	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	1 2.78 100.00 6.25	1 2.78
11	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	1 2.78 100.00 6.25	1 2.78
TOTAL	20 55.56	16 44.44	36 100.00

Table 3.20 (cont'd)

STATISTIC	DF	VALUE	PROB
CHI-SQUARE	9	9.910	0.358
LIKELIHOOD RATIO CHI-SQUARE	9	11.755	0.227
MANTEL-HAENSZEL CHI-SQUARE	1	5.301	0.021
PHI		0.525	
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT		0.465	
CRAMER'S V		0.525	

EFFECTIVE SAMPLE SIZE = 36

FREQUENCY MISSING = 1

Key:
0 = no one, 1 = friends, 2 = mother, 3 = father, 4 = mother and father,
5 = grandparents, 6 = teachers, 7 = counselor, 8 = other, 9 = sister or brother
10 = friends & teachers, 11 = mother & grandparent(s).
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.21
Influence of friends on their
decision to quit

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	4.85000000	0.67082039	0.15000000	2.00000000	5.00000000
2	17	4.11764706	1.31730563	0.31949354	1.00000000	5.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	2.0749	22.9	0.0494
EQUAL	2.1795	35.0	0.0361

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' =3.86 WITH 16 AND 19 DF
PROB > F' = 0.0061

Key:
1 = very influential 5 = no influence whatsoever
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.22
Who cared if they quit

FREQUENCY PERCENT ROW PCT COL PCT	GRP 1	GRP 2	TOTAL
1	10 27.03 58.82 50.00	7 18.92 41.18 41.18	17 45.95
2	1 2.70 20.00 5.00	4 10.81 80.00 23.53	5 13.51
3	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	2 5.41 100.00 11.76	2 5.41
4	2 5.41 66.67 10.00	1 2.70 33.33 5.88	3 8.11
5	7 18.92 70.00 35.00	3 8.11 30.00 17.65	10 27.03
TOTAL	20 54.05	17 45.95	37 100.00

STATISTIC	DF	VALUE	PROB
CHI-SQUARE	4	6.059	0.195
LIKELIHOOD RATIO CHI-SQUARE	4	6.974	0.137
MANTEL-HAENSZEL CHI-SQUARE	1	0.478	0.489
PHI		0.405	
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT		0.375	
CRAMER'S V		0.405	

Key:
0 = no one, 1 = friends, 2 = mother, 3 = father, 4 = mother and father,
5 = grandparents, 6 = teachers, 7 = counselor, 8 = other,
9 = sister(s) and brother(s), 10 = mother & grandparent(s)
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.23
The perceived value of education after they quit school

COL PCT	GRP 1	GRP 2	TOTAL
1	10 27.03 50.00	7 18.92 41.18	17 45.95
2	1 2.70 20.00 5.00	4 10.81 80.00 23.53	5 13.51
3	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	2 5.41 100.00 11.76	2 5.41
4	2 5.41 66.67 10.00	1 2.70 33.33 5.88	3 8.11
5	7 18.92 70.00 35.00	3 8.11 30.00 17.65	10 27.03
TOTAL	20 54.05	17 45.95	37 100.00

STATISTIC	DF	VALUE	PROB
CHI-SQUARE	4	6.059	0.195
LIKELIHOOD RATIO CHI-SQUARE	4	6.974	0.137
MANTEL-HAENSZEL CHI-SQUARE	1	0.478	0.489
PHI		0.405	
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT		0.375	
CRAMER'S V		0.405	

SAMPLE SIZE = 37

Key:
1 = education perceived as very important 5 = education perceived as having no importance whatsoever
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.24
The perceived value of education
for others (friends, relatives) after they quit school

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	2.75000000	1.74340864	0.38983802	1.00000000	5.00000000
2	16	2.31250000	1.66207701	0.41551925	1.00000000	5.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	0.7679	32.9	0.4480
EQUAL	0.7637	34.0	0.4503

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' =1.10 WITH 19 AND 15 DF
PROB > F' = 0.8626

Key:
1 = education perceived as very important 5 = education perceived as having no importance whatsoever
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.25
Adult Basic Education was something
they themselves wanted to do

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	1.40000000	0.94032469	0.21026299	1.00000000	4.00000000
2	17	1.70588235	0.91955872	0.22302575	1.00000000	4.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	-0.9979	34.3	0.3253
EQUAL	-0.9961	35.0	0.3260

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' = 1.05 WITH 19 AND 16 DF
PROB > F' = 0.9379

Key:
1 = very much wanted to attend, 2 = wanted to attend, 3 = indifferent,
4 = did not really want to go, 5 = very much did not want to attend
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.26
Self doubts entering the ABE program

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	1.90000000	0.91190951	0.20390916	1.00000000	3.00000000
2	17	2.05882353	0.89934617	0.21812348	1.00000000	3.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	-0.5319	34.2	0.5982
EQUAL	-0.5313	35.0	0.5986

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' =1.03 WITH 19 AND 16 DF
PROB > F' = 0.9656

Key:
1 = no self doubts, 2 = some self doubts, 3 = a lot of self doubts
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.27
Comparison to school

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	3.50000000	0.88852332	0.19867985	1.00000000	4.00000000
2	17	3.94117647	0.24253563	0.05882353	3.00000000	4.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	-2.1292	22.3	0.0445
EQUAL	-1.9816	35.0	0.0554

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' = 13.42 WITH 19 AND 16 DF
PROB> F' =0.0001

Key:
1 = just like earlier school, 2 = rather like earlier school,
3 = not really like earlier school, 4 = not at all like earlier school
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.28
Expected ABE to be like earlier school

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	3.20000000	1.64156536	0.36706517	1.00000000	5.00000000
2	17	2.76470588	1.39326109	0.33791545	1.00000000	5.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	0.8725	35.0	0.3889
EQUAL	0.8607	35.0	0.3952

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' = 1.39 WITH 19 AND 16 DF
PROB > F' = 0.5122

Key:
1 = very much expected ABE to be like school, 2 = expected ABE to be like school
3 = was not sure, 4 = did not expect ABE to be like school, 5 = very much did not expect ABE to be like school
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.29
Response to ABE environment

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	1.30000000	0.73269510	0.16383560	1.00000000	4.00000000
2	17	1.35294118	0.99631675	0.24164230	1.00000000	5.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	-0.1813	28.9	0.8574
EQUAL	-0.1859	35.0	0.8536

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' =1.85 WITH 16 AND 19 DF
PROB > F' = 0.2013

Key:
1 - 5 = 1 liked very much to 5 disliked very much
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.30
Comfort level in ABE

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	1.25000000	0.55011960	0.12301048	1.00000000	3.00000000
2	17	1.47058824	1.00732611	0.24431247	1.00000000	4.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	-0.8064	23.8	0.4280
EQUAL	-0.8437	35.0	0.4046

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' =3.35 WITH 16 AND 19 DF
PROB > F' = 0.0135

Key:
1 = very comfortable 5 = very uncomfortable
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.31
Sense of significance in ABE

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	1.45000000	0.68633274	0.15346867	1.00000000	3.00000000
2	17	1.47058824	0.94324222	0.22876984	1.00000000	4.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	-0.0747	28.7	0.9409
EQUAL	-0.0767	35.0	0.9393

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' = 1.89 WITH 16 AND 19 DF
PROB > F' = 0.1864

Key:
1 = very comfortable 5 = very uncomfortable
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.32
How well they liked teachers

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	1.50000000	0.88852332	0.19867985	1.00000000	4.00000000
2	16	1.37500000	0.88506120	0.22126530	1.00000000	4.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	0.4203	32.3	0.6770
EQUAL	0.4202	34.0	0.6770

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' = 1.01 WITH 19 AND 15 DF
PROB > F' = 1.0000

Key:
1 = very comfortable 5 = very uncomfortable
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.33
Expected ABE teachers to be like previous teachers

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	3.00000000	1.07605517	0.24061325	1.00000000	4.00000000
2	16	2.50000000	1.46059349	0.36514837	1.00000000	4.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	1.1434	26.9	0.2630
EQUAL	1.1829	34.0	0.2451

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' =1.84 WITH 15 AND 19 DF
PROB > F' = 0.2087

Key:
1 = expected them to be just like previous, 2 = expected them to be somewhat
3 = not sure, 4 = expected them not to be like previous teachers
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.34
ABE teachers were like previous school teachers

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	4.25000000	1.25131510	0.27980256	1.00000000	5.00000000
2	16	5.12500000	2.84897642	0.71224411	1.00000000	15.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	-1.1434	19.6	0.2666
EQUAL	-1.2358	34.0	0.2250

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' =5.18 WITH 15 AND 19 DF
PROB> F'= 0.0011

Key:
1 = just like previous, 2 = somewhat, 3 = not sure,
4 = not like previous , 5 = not at all like previous school teachers
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.35
How much attention they received from ABE teachers compared to school teachers

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	1.25000000	0.55011960	0.12301048	1.00000000	3.00000000
2	16	2.06250000	1.48183445	0.37045861	1.00000000	5.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	-2.0815	18.3	0.0517
EQUAL	-2.2709	34.0	0.0296

FOR HO : VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' = 7.26 WITH 15 AND 19 DF
PROB>F' = 0.0001

Key:
1 = a great deal more 5 = not nearly as much
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.36
What sort of ABE grades attained

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	1.40000000	0.59824304	0.13377121	1.00000000	3.00000000
2	16	1.62500000	0.61913919	0.15478480	1.00000000	3.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	-1.0998	31.8	0.2797
EQUAL	-1.1041	34.0	0.2773

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' =1.07 WITH 15 AND 19 DF
PROB> F' = 0.8745

Key:
1 = progressing well, 2 = progressing, 3 = not progressing, 4 = doing poorly
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.37
Expected ABE counselors to be like previous school counselors

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	2.95000000	0.82557795	0.18460484	1.00000000	4.00000000
2	15	2.86666667	0.91547542	0.23637474	1.00000000	4.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	0.2779	28.5	0.7831
EQUAL	0.2821	33.0	0.7796

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' = 1.23 WITH 14 AND 19 DF
PROB>F' = 0.6629

Key:
1 = expected them to be just like previous, 2 = expected them to be somewhat,
3 = not sure, 4 = expected them not to be like previous counselors
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.38
Value of an ABE counselor compared to previous school counselors

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	19	1.84210526	1.50048725	0.34423538	1.00000000	5.00000000
2	17	2.35294118	1.45521375	0.35294118	1.00000000	5.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB>/T/
UNEQUAL	-1.0361	33.8	0.3075
EQUAL	-1.0343	34.0	0.3083

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' = 1.06 WITH 18 AND 16 DF
PROB > F' = 0.9088

Key:
1 = very helpful 5 = of no value whatsoever
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.39
Relevance of ABE subjects

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	1.30000000	0.65694669	0.14689774	1.00000000	3.00000000
2	16	2.43750000	1.20933866	0.30233467	1.00000000	5.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	-3.3841	22.0	0.0027
EQUAL	-3.6021	34.0	0.0010

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' = 3.39 WITH 15 AND 19 DF
PROB > F' = 0.0137

Key:
1 = very relevant 5 = totally irrelevant
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.40
Number of friends in ABE

FREQUENCY PERCENT ROW PCT COL PCT	GRP 1	GRP 2	TOTAL
1	4 10.81 66.67 20.00	2 5.41 33.33 11.76	6 16.22
2	7 18.92 36.84 35.00	12 32.43 63.16 70.59	19 51.35
3	1 2.70 50.00 5.00	1 2.70 50.00 5.88	2 5.41
4	6 16.22 75.00 30.00	2 5.41 25.00 11.76	8 21.62
5	2 5.41 100.00 10.00	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	2 5.41
TOTAL	20 54.05	17 45.95	37 100.00

STATISTIC	DF	VALUE	PROB
CHI-SQUARE	3	1.806	0.614
LIKELIHOOD RATIO CHI-SQUARE	3	2.566	0.463
MANTEL-HAENSZEL CHI-SQUARE	1	0.928	0.335
PHI		0.221	
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT		0.216	
CRAMER'S V		0.221	

SAMPLE SIZE = 37
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.40 (cont'd)

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	2.45000000	0.99868334	0.22331238	1.00000000	5.00000000
2	17	2.70588235	0.46966822	0.11391127	2.00000000	3.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB>/T/
UNEQUAL	-1.0207	27.9	0.3161
EQUAL	-0.9679	35.0	0.3397

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' =4.52 WITH 19 AND 16 DF
PROB>F'= 0.0037

Key:
0 = 1, 1-3 ("few") = 2, 4-8 (several) = 3, 9 - 15 ("many") = 4, 15+ ("a lot") = 5
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.41
More or fewer friends than in school

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	4.50000000	1.23544154	0.27625313	1.00000000	5.00000000
2	17	4.58823529	1.00366974	0.24342567	2.00000000	5.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	-0.2396	34.9	0.8120
EQUAL	-0.2356	35.0	0.8151

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' = 1.52 WITH 19 AND 16 DF
PROB > F' = 0.4055

Key:
1 = considerably more, 2 = about the same, 3 = fewer
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.42
Influence of friends on their decision to quit

GRP	N	MEAN	STD DEV	STD ERROR	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
1	20	4.50000000	1.23544154	0.27625313	1.00000000	5.00000000
2	17	4.58823529	1.00366974	0.24342567	2.00000000	5.00000000

VARIANCES	T	DF	PROB >/T/
UNEQUAL	-0.2396	34.9	0.8120
EQUAL	-0.2356	35.0	0.8151

FOR HO: VARIANCES ARE EQUAL, F' =1.52 WITH 19 AND 16 DF
PROB > F' = 0.4055

Key:
1 = friends, 2 = teachers, 3 = counselor, 4 = self only,
5 = friends, teachers & counselors, 6 = teachers & counselors
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.43
Who did you turn to in ABE for help during your decision to stay or quit

COL PCT	GRP 1	GRP 2	TOTAL
1	3 8.11 60.00 15.00	2 5.41 40.00 11.76	5 13.51
2	3 8.11 100.00 15.00	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	3 8.11
3	3 8.11 27.27 15.00	8 21.62 72.73 47.06	11 29.73
4	8 21.62 53.33 40.00	7 18.92 46.67 41.18	15 40.54
5	1 2.70 100.00 5.00	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	1 2.70
6	2 5.41 100.00 10.00	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	2 5.41
TOTAL	20 54.05	17 45.95	37 100.00

STATISTICS	DF	VALUE	PROB
CHI-SQUARE	5	8.351	0.138
LIKELIHOOD RATIO CHI-SQUARE	5	10.701	0.058
MANTEL-HAENSZEL CHI-SQUARE	1	0.174	0.677
PHI		0.475	
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT		0.429	
CRAMER'S V		0.475	

SAMPLE SIZE = 37

Key:
1 = friends, 2 = teachers, 3 = counselor, 4 = self only
5 = friends, teachers & counselors, 6 = teachers & counselors
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.44
Who did you turn to in family for help

FREQUENCY PERCENT ROW PCT COL PCT	GRP 1	GRP 2	TOTAL
1	3	3	6
	8.11	8.11	16.22
	50.00	50.00	
	15.00	17.65	
3	2	1	3
	5.41	2.70	8.11
	66.67	33.33	
	10.00	5.88	
4	3	3	6
	8.11	8.11	16.22
	50.00	50.00	
	15.00	17.65	
5	1	0	1
	2.70	0.00	2.70
	100.00	0.00	
	5.00	0.00	
7	2	3	5
	5.41	8.11	13.51
	40.00	60.00	
	10.00	17.65	
8	5	5	10
	13.51	13.51	27.03
	50.00	50.00	
	25.00	29.41	
9	4	2	6
	10.81	5.41	16.22
	66.67	33.33	
	20.00	11.76	
TOTAL	20	17	37
	54.05	45.95	100.00

STATISTIC	DF	VALUE	PROB
CHI-SQUARE	6	1.970	0.922
LIKELIHOOD RATIO CHI-SQUARE	6	2.364	0.883
MANTEL-HAENSZEL CHI SQUARE	1	0.010	0.921
PHI		0.231	
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT		0.225	
CRAMER'S V		0.231	

SAMPLE SIZE = 37
WARNING: 92% OF THE CELLS HAVE EXPECTED COUNTS LESS THAN 5.
CHI-SQUARE MAY NOT BE A VALID TEST.

Key:
1 = mother, 2 = father, 3 = spouse, 4 = children, 5 = mother and father
6 = children and spouse, 7 = other relative(s), 8 = self only, 9 = fiance,
10 = mother & children, 11 = father, children & spouse/fiance
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.45
Which encouraged you to stay in ABE

FREQUENCY PERCENT ROW PCT COL PCT	GRP 1	GRP 2	TOTAL
1	3	6	9
	8.11	16.22	24.32
	33.33	66.67	
	15.00	35.29	
2	4	4	8
	10.81	10.81	21.62
	50.00	50.00	
	20.00	23.53	
3	2	3	5
	5.41	8.11	13.51
	40.00	60.00	
	10.00	17.65	
4	2	0	2
	5.41	0.00	5.41
	100.00	0.00	
	10.00	0.00	
5	7	2	9
	18.92	5.41	24.32
	77.78	22.22	
	35.00	11.76	
6	1	0	1
	2.70	0.00	2.70
	100.00	0.00	
	5.00	0.00	
7	1	2	1
	2.70	2.70	5.41
	50.00	50.00	
	5.00	5.88	
8	0	1	1
	0.00	2.70	2.70
	0.00	100.00	
	0.00	5.88	
TOTAL	20	17	37
	54.05	45.95	100.00

STATISTIC	DF	VALUE	PROB
CHI-SQUARE	7	7.786	0.352
LIKELIHOOD RATIO CHI -SQUARE	7	9.464	0.221
MANTEL-HAENSZEL CHI SQUARE	1	1.555	0.212
PHI		0.459	
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT		0.417	
CRAMER'S V		0.459	

SAMPLE SIZE = 37

Key:
1 = atmosphere, 2 = teachers, 3 = counselors, 4 = peers, 5 = family,
6 = teachers, counselors, & family, 7 = teachers & counselors
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

Table 3.46
Who cared if they quit in
and outside of ABE

FREQUENCY PERCENT ROW PCT COL PCT	GRP 1	GRP 2	TOTAL
0	1 2.70 33.33 5.00	2 5.41 66.67 11.76	3 8.11
1	4 10.81 50.00 20.00	4 10.81 50.00 23.53	8 21.62
2	3 8.11 75.00 15.00	1 2.70 25.00 5.88	4 10.81
5	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	1 2.70 100.00 5.88	1 2.70
6	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	2 5.41 100.00 11.76	2 5.41
7	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	4 10.81 100.00 23.53	4 10.81
8	7 18.92 100.00 35.00	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	7 18.92
9	4 10.81 66.67 20.00	2 5.41 33.33 11.76	6 16.22
10	1 2.70 0.00 0.00	0 0.00 100.00 5.88	0 0.00 0.00 0.00
11	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	1 2.70 100.00 5.88	1 2.70
TOTAL	20 54.05	17 45.95	37 100.00

Table 3.46 (cont'd)

STATISTIC	DF	VALUE	PROB
CHI SQUARE	9	17.874	0.037
LIKELIHOOD RATIO CHI-SQUARE	9	24.003	0.004
MANTEL-HAENSZEL CHI-SQUARE	1	0.556	0.456
PHI		0.695	
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT		0.571	
CRAMER'S V		0.695	

SAMPLE SIZE = 37

Key:
0 = no one, 1 = friends, 2 = mother, 3 = father, 4 = mother and father, 5 = grandparents, 6 = teachers, 7 = counselor, 8= other, 9 = spouse and children, 10 = teachers & counselors, 11 = mother & grandparent(s).
[Note: Group #1 = Persisters; Group #2 = Reluctant Learners]

STUDY NUMBER THREE:
APPENDIX B

A. RESISTER INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

I. Interviewer_____ Interview #_____ Date of Interview_____
II. Location of Interview_____
III. **Test tape recorder with person's name**

_____

IV. Demographics: ASK THESE AND PLEASE WRITE THE ANSWERS IN AFTER THE INTERVIEW

Could you please give us your name?_____
Could you please tell us your address?_____
Are you currently employed [outside of the home]? yes____ no___
Yes: What is your trade or occupation?_____
Where are you working now?_____
No: How are you supporting yourself now?_____
What trade or occupation do you hope to get into? _____

_____

Could you tell us your age?_____
What is your current marital status?_____
"Do you have children?"___ How many? _____ What ages? _____
What was the highest grade level you went to in school?_____
How many years were you in school?_____
Do you remember what year you left school?_____ **[Interviewer fill in later how many years the subject has been out of school]**_____
What year did you start Adult Basic Ed here at_____
[Interviewer fill in]
How long have you lived in the Pittsburgh area?_____
Did you move around a lot or attend one school?_____
How many schools?_____
Of what ethnic origin are you? Black_____ Caucasian_____ Other_____
Additional information _____

_____(use back)

B. SCHOOL BACKGROUND

II. SCHOOLING ENCOURAGERS/DISCOURAGERS: "WHAT ENCOURAGED/DISCOURAGED THE SUBJECT TO DROP (NOT QUIT OR FAIL) SCHOOL?"

Contains:

1. School Environment/Atmosphere
2. Teachers
3. Counselors
4. Course Content
5. Friends
6. Outside Support
7. Overall

If you could think back to when you quit school, I'd like to ask about different areas of school and what happened to you then. After that, I'd like to ask about your experience at the Adult Basic Education program at_____

School Environment/Atmosphere: Please think back to the school setting: the classrooms, the hallways, the desks. How they looked, how the place smelled.

1. Do you recall school as being a pleasant or unpleasant place? How pleasant/unpleasant? [1-5]

If you could think back to how the school was run and operated—the Principal, the teachers, your role as a student

2. Did you feel comfortable there? [1-5]
3. Did you feel you were significant, that you mattered at school? [1-5]
4. How did you feel the day you realized you would not be going back? [1-5]
5. Just thinking about the school, the size, the set up, the atmosphere, would you say school, just in general, discouraged you from staying on? [1-5]

Teachers: Let's talk about the teachers you had around the time you dropped out.

1. What were they like to you? [1-5]
2. Can you remember any particularly bad teachers?. How did you feel about him/her/them? [1-5]
3. What makes a bad teacher? What sort of qualities?
4. Can you remember any particularly good teachers? How did you feel about him/her/them? [1-5]
5. What makes a good teacher? What sort of qualities?
6. Do you remember getting more or less attention from teachers than other students (in the last school you attended)?
7. Were you a good student? [1-5] What kind of grades did you get?
8. Although it may never have been said to you, would you say your school teachers encouraged you to leave school? [1-5]

Counselor Support: Did you have a counselor in any of your schools? **[if the answer is "No" go to the next category]**

1. Was this person(s) of help to you?
2. How important was counseling or a lack of counselor in your decision to drop out do you think? [1-5]
3. What could a counselor have done to help you more?

Course Content: Could you think back to what you studied in your last school.

1. What was your favorite subject? Why?
2. Was this your favorite subject all through school?
3. Did you get your highest marks in this subject or another one?
4. What was your least favorite subject? Why?
5. Was this the case all through school for you?
6. Was school difficult for you? [1-5]
7. Was there anything you wished had not been in the courses? Anything you wished had been in the courses?
8. Did the courses themselves encourage you to drop out of school? [1-5]
9. Was what you learned in school relevant in what you've done since? [1-5]

Friends: Could you look back now and think about your friends in school (the one you dropped out of).

1. Did you have many friends? About how many?
   [if the answer is "No friends at all," go to #5 below]
2. Would you say you and your friends "fitted in" with the other kids? [1-5]
3. Were they good students? [1-5]
4. Would you say your friends in the school cared whether you stayed in school or did they encourage you to drop [1-5]
5. Did your friends finish school themselves?
6. How important were your friends or lack of friends in your decision to drop out? [1-5]
7. Before we leave the school behind, was there anyone you would turn to in the school if you had a problem [friend? teacher? counselor?]

Outside Support: Thinking outside of the school, of your family, relatives and friends outside of the school setting:

1. Was there anyone you would turn to if you had a problem [parent? friend? relative? minister?]
2. Who was most supportive—cared the most about your staying in school? **[if no one at all, go to #4 below]**
3. What did your decision to drop out mean to them/that person?
4. Was there anything they/that person might have done differently to help you stay in school?
5. How important was outside support, or the lack of it, do you think, in your decision to leave school? [1-5]

Overall: As you look back over what we've talked about here, which of these do you think influenced you most in your decision to drop out?: [N.B. interviewers list get the strongest influences here]

- •Atmosphere?.....[1-5]
- •Teachers?..... [1-5]
- •Counselors?.....[1-5]
- •Course content?...[1-5]
- •Friends?.....[1-5]

•Outside persons?..[1-5]
•Other?.....[1-5]

III. VALENCE/STRENGTH OF BELIEF IN EDUCATION BEFORE ENTERING ABE

1. After you dropped out of school, did you still consider education important for yourself? [1-5]
2. [If the subject has children ask]: Did you consider education important for your children at that time? [1-5]
3. At that time, did you consider education important for: your relatives; your friends?
4. Looking back, what do you think of the education system now?
5. What should it have been like for you?
6. So what caused you to decide to go to Connelly/Bidwell? Would you say it was something you wanted to do? [1-5]
7. Did you think you would succeed before you started? [1-5]
8. Did you have doubts based on your school experience? What were such doubts?

IV. EXPECTANCY/EXPECTATIONS ENTERING ABE COMPARED WITH SCHOOL

Contains:

1. Environment/Atmosphere of ABE
2. ABE Teachers
3. ABE Counselors
4. ABE Content
5. Friends in ABE
6. Outside support
7. Overall

We are now interested in what you expected to find at Con/Bid and would like to compare that with what you actually found.

Atmosphere

1. What did you originally expect the physical environment and atmosphere at Con/Bid would be like? Like your previous school or different? [1-5]

Thinking about Con/Bid, what it looked like, how it was set up, what it even smelled like

2. What did you find? Was it the same or different? [1-5]
3. What was your reaction to being tested right off the top? Was it more or less rigid and bureaucratic than school? [1-5]
4. Did you feel significant, that you mattered at Con/Bid? [1-5]
5. Would you say you felt more or less comfortable at Con/Bid than at school? [1-5]
6. Was Con/Bid a more or less pleasant place to be than your last school? [1-5]
7. How soon after you started, would you say, were you beginning to think about dropping out?
8. What did you experience or perceive that started you thinking about it at that particular point?
9. Was there a particular event that made you decide to quit or was it a build up from the time you entered Con/Bid?

Teachers

1. What did you expect the teachers to be like? Like your previous school or different? [1-5]
2. And were teachers the same or different? [1-5]
3. How did you feel about the way they treated you? [1-5]
4. Would you say the teachers at Con/Bid were good or bad teachers, compared to school? [1-5]
5. Did you feel you got more or less attention from your ABE teachers than you got from your school teachers? [1-5]
6. Were you a good student? [1-5] What kind of grades did you get?
7. Although it may never have been said to you, would you say your ABE teachers encouraged you to leave Con/Bid? [1-5]
8. How important were teachers in your decision to drop? [1-5]
9. How could they have been better?

Counselor

1. Did you expect there would be a counselor at Con/Bid? If so, any thoughts on what you expected he/she would be like? [1-5]
2. Did you have help from the Con/Bid counselor?

[if "No" go to Counselor #4 below]

3. Was this person the same or different from a school counselor? [1-5]
4. How important was this in your decision to drop?
5. How could ABE counseling have been better?

Content

1. What did you expect the content to be like? Like school? [1-5]
2. Overall, what was the content like? The same or different from school? [1-5]

[if not in classes long enough to judge, go to #5 below]

3. What was your favorite subject? Why?
4. What was your least favorite subject? Why?
5. Did you expect it to be more or less difficult than school? [1-5] Was it more or less difficult? [1-5]
6. Did you find the courses difficult? [1-5]
7. What sort of grades did you get? and what sort of results on your testing?
8. Did you expect the courses to be more or less relevant than the school's? [1-5]
9. And were the courses more relevant? [1-5]
10. Was there anything you wish had not been in the courses? Why?
11. How important was the course content in your decision to drop out? [1-5]

Friends

1. Did you expect to make friends at Con/Bid?
2. Did you expect it to be the same as school? [1-5]
3. And did you make friends?
4. About how many would you consider to have been good friends?
5. Would you say you and your friends "fitted in" at Con/Bid?
6. Did your friends stay and finish at Con/Bid?
7. Was there anyone you would turn to and talk to if you had a problem in Con/Bid? (friend? teacher? counselor?)
8. How important was "friends" in your decision to drop out of Con/Bid? [1-5]

Outside Support

1. Were there any people or was there anybody giving you support outside of Con/Bid? family? friends? people encouraging you to stay?
2. Do you think you got more or less outside support in ABE than when you were in school? [1-5]
3. Did these same people continue to give you support right up to when you dropped out?
4. What was their reaction when you dropped out?

IV. VALENCE COMPARED: HOW STRONG IS YOUR BELIEF IN EDUCATION NOW?

ABE Encouragers/Discouragers Summary:

1. All in all, would you say that Con/Bid was different from school? [1-5]
2. Was it what you had expected?
3. Do you think there was/is any connection between your lack of satisfaction with Con/Bid and your satisfaction with school?
4. Which one area discouraged you the most from staying at Con/Bid, out of:
   - •Atmosphere
   - •Teachers
   - •Counselors
   - •Courses
   - •Friends
   - •Outside support
   - •or something else?
5. If you could name one area which encouraged you the most to stay at Con/Bid, would it be: Environment/Atmosphere, Teachers, Counselors, Courses, Friends, outside support or something else?
6. Now that you have dropped out of ABE, do you still consider education important for yourself? [1-5]
7. Would you ever go back to another ABE program?
   if "yes"
8. Under what conditions would you go back?

9. If the subject has children ask: Do you still consider education important for your children? [1-5]
10. Do you now still consider education important for: your relatives, your friends?
11. Looking back, what do you think of the ABE system now?
12. What should it have been like for you?

A. **PERSISTER INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

I. Interviewer_____ Interview # _____ Date of Interview _____

II. Location of Interview _____

III. **Test tape recorder with person's name**

_____

IV. Demographics: ASK THESE AND PLEASE WRITE THE ANSWERS IN AFTER THE INTERVIEW

Could you please give us your name?_____

Could you please tell us your address?_____

Are you currently employed [outside of the home?] yes_____ no_____

Yes: What is your trade or occupation?_____

Where are you working now?_____

No: How are you supporting yourself now?_____

What trade or occupation do you hope to get into?_____

_____

Could you tell us your age?_____

What is your current marital status?_____

Do you have children?_____ How many?_____ What ages?_____

What was the highest grade level you went to in school?_____

How many years were you in school?_____

Do you remember what year you left school?_____ **[Interviewer fill in later how many years the subject has been out of school]**_____

What year did you start Adult Basic Ed here at _____

[Interviewer fill in]

How long have you lived in the Pittsburgh area?_____

Did you move around a lot or attend one school?_____

How many schools?_____

Of what ethnic origin are you? Black_____ Caucasian_____

other_____

Additional information_____(use back)

B. SCHOOL BACKGROUND

II. SCHOOLING ENCOURAGERS/DISCOURAGERS: "WHAT ENCOURAGED/ DISCOURAGED THE SUBJECT TO DROP (NOT "QUIT" OR "FAIL") SCHOOL?"

Contains:

1. School Environment/Atmosphere
2. Teachers
3. Counselors
4. Course Content
5. Friends
6. Outside Support
7. Overall

If you could think back to when you quit school, I'd like to ask about different areas of school and what happened to you then. After that, I'd like to ask about your experience at the Adult Basic Education program at _____

School Environment/Atmosphere: Please think back to the school setting—the classrooms, the hallways, the desks—How they looked, how the place smelled.

1. Do you recall school as being a pleasant or unpleasant place? How pleasant/unpleasant? [1-5]
2. If you could think back to how the school was run and operated—the Principal, the teachers, your role as a student. Did you feel comfortable there? [1-5]
3. Did you feel you were significant, that you mattered at school? [1-5]
4. How did you feel the day you realized you would not be going back? [1-5]
5. Just thinking about the school, the size, the set up, the atmosphere, would you say school, just in general, discouraged you from staying on? [1-5]

Teachers: Let's talk about the teachers you had around the time you dropped out.

1. What were they like to you? [1-5]
2. Can you remember any particularly bad teachers? How did you feel about him/her/them? [1-5]
3. What makes a bad teacher? What sort of qualities?

4. Can you remember any particularly good teachers? How did you feel about him/her/them? [1-5]
5. What makes a good teacher? What sort of qualities?
6. Do you remember getting more or less attention from teachers than other students (in the last school you attended)?
7. Were you a good student? [1-5] What kind of grades did you get?
8. Although it may never have been said to you, would you say your school teachers encouraged you to leave school? [1-5]

Counselor support: Did you have a counselor in any of your schools? **[if the answer is "No" go to the next category]**

1. Was this person(s) of help to you? [1-5]
2. How important was counseling or a lack of counselor in your decision to drop out do you think? [1-5]
3. What could a counselor have done to help you more?

Course content: Could you think back to what you studied in your last school.

1. What was your favorite subject? Why?
2. Was this your favorite subject all through school?
3. Did you get your highest marks in this subject or another one?
4. What was your least favorite subject? Why?
5. Was this the case all through school for you?
6. Was school difficult for you? [1-5]
7. Was there anything you wished had not been in the courses? Anything you wished had been in the courses?
8. Did the courses themselves encourage you to drop out of school? [1-5]
9. Was what you learned in school relevant in what you've done since? [1-5]

Friends: Could you look back now and think about your friends in school (the one you dropped out of).

1. Did you have many friends? About how many? **[if the answer is "No friends at all," go to #5 below]**
2. Would you say you and your friends "fitted in" with the other

kids? [1-5]

3. Were they good students? [1-5]
4. Would you say your friends in the school cared whether you stayed in school or did they encourage you to drop? [1-5]
5. Did your friends finish school themselves?
6. How important were your friends or lack of friends in your decision to drop out? [1-5]
7. Before we leave the school behind, was there anyone you would turn to <u>in the school</u> if you had a problem [friend? teacher? counselor?]

<u>Outside Support</u>: Thinking outside of the school, of your family, relatives and friends outside of the school setting:

1. Was there anyone you would turn to if you had a problem [parent? friend? relative? minister?]
2. Who was most supportive—cared the most about your staying in school? [**if no one at all, go to #4 below**]
3. What did your decision to drop out mean to them/that person?
4. Was there anything they/that person might have done differently to help you stay in school?
5. How important was outside support, or the lack of it, do you think, in your decision to leave school? [1-5]

<u>Overall</u>: As you look back over what we've talked about here, which of these do you think influenced you most in your decision to drop out?: [N.B. interviewers list get the strongest influences here]

- •Atmosphere? [1-5]
- •Teachers? [1-5]
- •Counselors [1-5]
- •Course content [1-5]
- •Friends [1-5]
- •Outside persons [1-5]
- •Others [1-5]

III. VALENCE/STRENGTH OF BELIEF IN EDUCATION BEFORE ENTERING ABE

1. After you dropped out of school, did you still consider education important for yourself? [1-5]
2. [If the subject has children ask]: Did you consider education important for your children at that time? [1-5]
3. At that time, did you consider education important for: your relatives, your friends?
4. Looking back, what do you think of the education system now?
5. What should it have been like for you?
6. So what caused you to decide to go to Connelly/Bidwell? Would you say it was something you wanted to do? [1-5]
7. Did you think you would succeed before you started? [1-5]
8. Did you have doubts based on your school experience? What were such doubts?

IV. EXPECTANTCY/EXPECTATIONS ENTERING ABE COMPARED WITH SCHOOL

Contains:

1. Environment/Atmosphere of ABE
2. ABE Teachers
3. ABE Counselors
4. ABE Content
5. Friends in ABE
6. Outside support
7. Overall

We are now interested in what you expected to find at Con/Bid and would like to compare that with what you actually found.

Atmosphere

1. What did you originally expect the physical environment and atmosphere at Con/Bid would be like? Like your previous school or different? [1-5]

Thinking about Con/Bid when you first started, what it looked like, how it was set up, what it even smelled like

2. What did you find? Was it the same or different from school? [1-5]

3. What was your reaction to being tested right off the top? Was it more or less rigid and bureaucratic than school? [1-5]
4. Did you feel significant, that you mattered at Con/Bid? [1-5]
5. Would you say you felt more or less comfortable at Con/Bid than at school right from the start? [1-5]
6. From the start, is Con/Bid a more or less pleasant place to be than your last school? [1-5]
7. Have you ever considered dropping out?
8. What did you experience or perceive that started you thinking about it at that particular point?
9. Was there a particular event that made you think about dropping out?

Teachers

1. What did you expect the teachers to be like? Like your previous school or different? [1-5]
2. And were teachers the same or different? [1-5]
3. How did you feel about the way they treated you from the start? [1-5]
4. Would you say the teachers at Con/Bid are good or bad teachers? compared to school? [1-5]
5. Do you feel you get more or less attention from your ABE teachers than you got from your school teachers? [1-5]
6. Are you a good student? [1-5] What kind of grades do you get?
7. Although it may never have been said to you, would you say your ABE teachers encourage you to stay in Con/Bid? [1-5]
8. How important are teachers in your decision to stay? [1-5]
9. How could they be better?

Counselor

1. Did you expect there would be a counselor at Con/Bid? If so, any thoughts on what you expected he/she would be like? [1-5]
2. Have you had help from the Con/Bid counselor? **[if "No"go to Counselor #4 below]**
3. Was this person the same or different from a school counselor? [1-5]

4. How important was this in your decision to stay?
5. How could ABE counseling be better?

Content

1. What did you expect the content to be like? Like school? [1-5]
2. Overall, is the content like? The same or different from school? [1-5]
3. What is your favorite subject? Why?
4. What is your least favorite subject? Why?
5. Did you expect ABE to be more or less difficult than school? [1-5] Is it more or less difficult? [1-5]
6. Do you find the courses difficult? [1-5]
7. What sort of grades are you getting? and what sort of results on your entry testing?
8. Did you expect the courses to be more or less relevant than school's? [1-5]
9. And are the courses more relevant? [1-5]
10. Is there anything you wish wasn't in the courses? Why?
11. How important is course content in your decision to stay? [1-5]

Friends

1. Did you expect to make friends at Con/Bid?
2. Did you expect it to be the same as school? [1-5]
3. And did you make friends?
4. About how many would you consider to be your good friends?
5. Would you say you and your friends "fit in" at Con/Bid?
6. Are your friends staying and finishing at Con/Bid?
7. Is there anyone you turn to and talk to if you have a problem in Con/Bid? (friend? teacher? counselor?)
8. How important are "friends" in your decision to stay in Con/Bid? [1-5]

Outside Support

1. Are there any people or is there anybody giving you support outside of Con/Bid (family? friends? people encouraging you to stay?)

2. Do you think you now get more or less outside support in ABE than when you were in school?

IV. VALENCE COMPARED: HOW STRONG IS YOUR BELIEF IN EDUCATION NOW?

ABE Encouragers/Discouragers Summary:

1. All in all, would you say that Con/Bid is different from school? [1-5]
2. Is it what you had expected?
3. Do you think there was/is any connection between your satisfaction with Con/Bid and your satisfaction with school?
4. Which one area encourages you the most to stay at Con/Bid, out of:
   - •Atmosphere
   - •Teachers
   - •Counselors
   - •Courses
   - •Friends
   - •Outside support
   - •Or something else?
5. Now that you are staying in ABE, do you still consider education important for yourself? [1-5]
6. More important than when you started at Con/Bid?
7. Why do you think so many others drop out of Con/Bid?
8. Have you any ideas as to what sort of conditions would be needed to have them come back and stay this time?
9. [If the subject has children ask]: Do you still consider education important for your children? [1-5]
10. Do you consider it more important for them now than when you started here?
11. Do you now still consider education important for: your relatives, your friends? [1-5]
12. Do you consider it more important for them now than when you started here?
13. Looking back, what do you think of the ABE system now?
14. Is there anything that should be different for you?

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